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12,000 Muslims and a Trek Through Serb Killing Fields

By Michael Dobbs and Christine Spolar
Washington Post Service

As Bosnian Serbian forces closed in on the United Nations "safe area" of Srebrenica in early July, some 12,000 draft-age Muslim men gathered on a hill outside the town. Terrified of being killed by the advancing Serbs, they decided to gamble their lives on an arduous 60-mile trek through enemy-held territory to reach the Muslim stronghold of Tuzla.

The men set off at dawn on Tuesday, July 11, in two columns that stretched back seven or eight miles. Most were unarmed.

As they trekked along wooded mountain streams, they could see NATO warplanes destroy a single Serbian tank in a futile, last-ditch attempt to prevent the fall of the "safe area" in eastern Bosnia.

Of the 12,000 men who set out that day, significantly less than half ever made it to safety, according to information collected by international

human-rights organizations and Bosnian officials. Nearly all of the remainder were butchered by troops under the command of General Ratko Mladić, the Bosnian Serbian military commander, despite repeated promises he gave the refugees that he would personally ensure their safety. For the rest of that week, a large area of eastern Bosnia was turned into a brutal killing field.

The accounts now available indicate that the massacres in the Srebrenica area during the week starting July 11 were the worst atrocities committed in Europe since World War II.

"Being there, and seeing so many people executed was terrible," said Hurem Suljic, a 55-year-old Muslim who survived a massacre near the town of Karakaj by staying motionless beneath a pile of dead bodies. "Anybody who moved or screamed was killed," he said. "I was afraid someone could be alive on my back, and if he moved, they would shoot us again. Fortunately, they were all dead."

Although reports of mass killings began to circulate soon after the fall of Srebrenica, the full horror of what took place became apparent only much later as survivors of the long march told their stories to journalists, diplomats and human-rights activists.

A detailed reconstruction of events by The Washington Post now suggests that there were at least five or six separate massacre sites, where large numbers of Muslim men were buried in mass graves, as well as dozens of other places where individual killings took place.

A town of about 12,000 that swelled to three times that number with refugees, Srebrenica is nestled in wooded hills close to Bosnia's Drina River border with Serbian-dominated Yugoslavia.

Earlier this summer, Bosnian Serbian commanders decided to consolidate their control of eastern Bosnia, eliminating the government enclaves. In a letter to UN officials in early July, General Mladić complained that Muslim fighters operating out of the Srebrenica pocket

had mounted raids against nearby Serbian villages, killing more than 100 civilians. On July 6, the Bosnian Serbian Army mounted a full-scale assault on the enclave with tanks and artillery, and Srebrenica fell five days later.

The following description of what befell the inhabitants of Srebrenica was put together from accounts given by survivors and witnesses in interviews conducted in the Muslim-controlled Tuzla region in recent days. It also draws on testimony collected by human-rights organizations including Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and the UN Human Rights Commission.

The exodus of the fighting-age men of Srebrenica began relatively unevenly. In order to avoid land mines, the men marched two abreast. It took seven hours for the columns to clear the opening stretch.

The horrors began as the men approached the

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Yeltsin Back In Hospital After Heart Incident

Meeting in Moscow Of Balkan Leaders On Tuesday in Doubt

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — For the second time in less than four months, President Boris N. Yeltsin was rushed to the hospital suffering acute heart pain Thursday.

Aides said that Mr. Yeltsin, 64, had suffered from a restricted supply of blood carrying oxygen to his heart, a condition known as ischemia. A bout of the same problem in July sent the Russian leader to the hospital for two weeks and kept him out of work for nearly a month.

"The president's condition does not inspire great optimism," said Viktor Ilyushin, a top aide to Mr. Yeltsin.

Nonetheless, officials said the president's condition this time was less serious than in July and stressed that he remained in control of the country.

Mr. Yeltsin's sudden illness comes at an inopportune moment. He was to act as host of a top-level meeting of the leaders of Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia in Moscow next Tuesday. That meeting is now in doubt, and the Kremlin also announced that Mr. Yeltsin's planned trip to China in the first half of November would have to be postponed.

Mr. Yeltsin's health problems are a blow to his efforts to portray himself as fit enough to run for re-election next summer. In recent weeks he has played tennis with the president of Belarus and challenged President Jacques Chirac of France to a match.

Moreover, he has fired or criticized his most unpopular ministers and generally given every indication that he is positioning himself to run for a second term as president. He was elected to a five-year term in 1991.

Mr. Yeltsin, who has a long history of heart ailments and is known to drink heavily at times, had returned on Tuesday from what his aides called a tiring trip to France and the United States, during which his face was puffy, his eyes narrowed to slits and he appeared generally unwell.

Mr. Ilyushin, said Mr. Yeltsin was overworked and under considerable "intellectual, moral and physical pressure" on the trip, during which he took part in celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the United Nations and met with President Bill Clinton at Franklin D. Roosevelt's boyhood home in Hyde Park, New York.

According to press reports and the accounts of Kremlin officials, Mr. Yeltsin was stricken shortly after lunchtime Thursday as he worked at one of his country residences near Moscow. He was taken by helicopter to the Central Clinical Hospital, a special facility for Kremlin leaders and other elite figures where Mr. Yeltsin was hospitalized this summer after he experienced

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Dini Survives With Vow To Quit by End of Year

By Celestine Bohlen
New York Times Service

ROME — Prime Minister Lamberto Dini of Italy rescued his caretaker government from defeat in Parliament with a last-minute promise Thursday to step down before Jan. 1, after passage of the 1996 national budget.

His pledge, made at the end of a dramatic speech, was enough to change the minds of Italy's small far-left Communist Refounding Party which, until then, had been ready to join forces with Italy's center-right parties to topple Mr. Dini's government.

Without the support of the 24 Communist deputies, who boycotted the vote, the center-right coalition headed by former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi fell short of the majority needed to pass a no-confidence measure it introduced against Mr. Dini on Oct. 20. The measure, voted on after two days of debate, was rejected, 310 to 291.

But the political crisis, which erupted late last week over the ousting of Mr. Dini's justice minister, promises to continue, with the next battle looming over the \$20.3 billion budget itself. Mr. Dini, a former central banker, was appointed last January to head an ostensibly nonpolitical government whose main task was to bring Italy's fiscal deficit under control.

Mr. Berlusconi's chief ally, Gianfranco Fini, who heads the far-right National Alliance, vowed Thursday to oppose Mr. Dini on the budget, as presented by the

government would further trim the public deficit with a combination of spending cuts and new revenues." The budget is in peril," Mr. Fini warned.

Now, said Mr. Fini, is the hard-line Marxist party that rescued Mr. Dini on Thursday likely to help him the next time around. The Communist Refounding Party has opposed Mr. Dini's efforts to bring public spending in line, in particular his reform earlier this year of Italy's bloated pension system.

Mr. Fini accused the Dini government of having shed its political neutrality to side squarely with the Party of the Democratic Left, which is the main heir of Italy's once-powerful Communist Party. Mr. Berlusconi has repeatedly argued that the left has usurped the mandate that his center-right coalition won in the March 1994 elections and lost last December when a key member of the coalition pulled out.

"The parties of the left support a government which has become a government of the left," Mr. Fini said. "Now we are the opposition."

The short-lived crisis may have succeeded in defining the battle lines within Italy's divided Parliament, but it has left the political landscape even more confused than it was before.

An embryonic center-left alliance, under the leadership of Romano Prodi, an economist who is still untested politically, was left badly battered when the Communist Refounding Party initially deserted

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MARCH OF CONTROVERSY — Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, right, and Vice-Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel watching Austrian soldiers marching down the Ringstrasse in Vienna on Thursday to mark the 50th anniversary of its post-World War II national day. The chancellor had initially vowed to stay away from the march. Dotted Nigl/Rex

Japanese Public Opens War on Finance Ministry

By Sandra Sugawara
Washington Post Service

TOKYO — Through years of currency turmoil and foreign-trade disputes, Japanese officials have counted on nationalistic support from the Japanese public and news media.

But now, confronted with a \$1.1 billion bond-trading loss at the New York office of Daiwa Bank, that support has turned to anger, aimed at Daiwa and the Ministry of Finance.

In recent weeks a large number of Japanese editorialists and commentators have assailed the ministry, home to Japan's most powerful bureaucrats and long considered all but infallible. Some critics have called for its breakup, unthinkable just a few months ago.

Driving the criticism is the disclosure that the ministry heard of the losses from Daiwa in early August but took no action on its own to verify them, and kept U.S. regulators in the dark for six weeks. Statements by ministry officials that they merely followed the trust-based Japanese way of doing things have been ridiculed.

"Their incompetence at the fundamental

task of bank inspection has now been revealed to a stunned international financial world," said an editorial in the Nikkei Weekly. The paper said the inspectors should be shifted to an independent organization, and the division that "gives guidance" to the banking industry should be abolished.

Alluding to the ministry's enormous reach and its roles as both regulator and adviser, Asahi Shimbun Weekly said, "The defendant, plaintiff and judge are sitting at the same table. This is hardly the way to handle the problem."

In private, business executives often criticize the ministry, complaining that it has failed to bring Japan out of a four-year-old recession. But wary of the agency's power over virtually all walks of Japanese financial life, they decline to be quoted about it.

For now, few ministry watchers expect its power to be seriously downgraded. That would require legislation, and there is no sign of momentum for such a move among politicians.

Still, it is a breathtaking change for an agency in which bureaucrats, graduates of the best schools in the country, labor long hours in drab offices in central Tokyo and have long been considered the elite of the elite.

But some Japanese, tired of four years of recession and worried about the safety of their family accounts in a banking system

all Republicans in favor and nearly all Democrats opposed.

A cheer went up from the Republicans as the vote count climbed past 217, the number needed to assure passage in the 433-member House. President Clinton has threatened to veto the measure. Earlier article, Page 3

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Chirac, Eye on Tumbling Polls, Wades Into Battle of the Budget

By Joseph Fitchett and Tom Buerkle
International Herald Tribune

Plunging into a leadership vacuum in France, President Jacques Chirac threw his political prestige Thursday behind the government's bid to cut public spending and curb welfare as the unavoidable cost of restoring economic health.

And his personal commitment to the view that France must remain in step with Germany seemed bound to reassure the main foreign partner, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and international financial markets.

Mr. Chirac, unusually eloquent and unusually somber in a televised interview, did not underestimate the difficulties ahead in what he said was a two-year effort to purge France's bloated spending by government and in public health services.

In coming off the fence clearly for the first time about France's economic priorities, Mr. Chirac's performance mirrored the political U-turn early in the previous presidency when President François Mitterrand, elected as a Socialist but facing an acute financial crisis after two years in office, turned his back on radical economic options and embraced austerity policies in line with Germany's.

It will be shock therapy for large sectors of the French nation — for example, civil servants who staged a nationwide general strike this month over a proposed wage freeze next year. Mr. Chirac explicitly defended the controversial plan, saying it had to be part of a general belt-tightening.

Mr. Chirac's attempt to clarify domestic policy goals, after only five months in

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A Future Colossus Makes Waves in Pastoral Western Ireland

By James F. Clarity
New York Times Service

ed to improve safety at sea and would help all ships passing within 200 miles of Ireland, particularly the Irish fishing fleet.

But many of the 800 people here in villages like Feeard, Kilbaha, Rehy, Cross and Carrigaholt, the beacon would deface the landscape, cause health problems in cows and children because of possibly increased electromagnetic waves, be a military target in time of war and possibly, they say quite seriously, help French submarines bearing nuclear missiles to prepare for attacks on Australia or Greenpeace.

The Irish government denies all the charges. The French ambassador denies that France, which is paying more than half the cost, intends to use the beacon for military purposes.

Still, the 200 or so militant opponents of the beacon, part of the Loran C navigational system for

northern Europe, recently won a court decision that temporarily blocks construction.

The opponents' campaign reflects many national concerns: how to increase economically needed tourism by making the countryside more attractive; how, as a perennially neutral country, Ireland should cooperate with European projects that may have military implications; how to be a member in good standing of the European Union.

Most of the opponents are farmers working long days with their milk cows. But there is also a silent minority here who, if they are not against the beacon, are apathetic and do not like to give their names when they discuss it. They would disagree with John McKinney, a retired banker who now runs a small fish farm and is a leader in the fight against the beacon.

"To my knowledge there is not one voice in support

of the mast on the Loop Head peninsula," he said. But a businessman in the area said there was also an element of what the Irish call "begrudging."

"It's a small bunch making a lot of noise," he said. "There's a lot of jealousy. Some of the farmers are unhappy that the government did not offer to buy their land."

Gesturing at overhead telephone lines, he added, "There's more electromagnetic power in those lines than in the mast."

The government paid about \$585,000 to six farmers for a 137-acre plot for the beacon, and the farmers keep the money whether or not it goes up.

Margaret Conidine and her husband, Pat, who have three young sons and 34 cows on their 65-acre

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50 Slain in 2 Years / Islamic Extremists' Campaign of Terror

For Algeria's Journalists, a Deadly Front Line

By Barry James
International Herald Tribune

On the day that he was murdered last Dec. 3, the editor of the Algerian daily *Le Matin*, Said Mekbel, wrote a prophetic column about the "vagabond" life that journalists in Algeria have to lead.

"He no longer knows where he will spend the night," Mr. Mekbel said. "He's the one who is threatened in the closed walls of a government office, the witness who must file what he knows, a naked, bewildered citizen. He has made a vow not to die with his throat sliced. There's nothing else he can do with his hands, only write his articles. Yet he hopes against hope, because roses grow well on manure heaps, don't they?"

As Algeria's presidential election campaign got under way this week, the situation of the journalists — who have seen 50 of their colleagues assassinated in little more than two years — has seldom been starker. The extremist Islamic opposition has called for a boycott of the election, which it condemns as a democratic facade.

This means that merely by writing about the campaign, and giving it a kind of legitimacy through their words and images, journalists could be putting their lives at greater risk.

Ahmed Toumiat, the secretary-general of the Algerian Journalists Association, said the danger had increased because "the fundamentalists are looking for headline-grabbing attacks" in the run-up to the election.

He added, however, "I think the security measures put in place by the government during the campaign will enable a certain number of journalists to carry out coverage normally with a maximum of security."

Nevertheless, the government cannot provide an armed guard for every journalist all the time, nor would many reporters want to be that closely involved with the military-backed regime.

This means that many journalists will go on doing what they have been doing all along. Although some senior reporters and editors live in a heavily fortified seaside hotel, their families do not, and neither do the majority of the nation's journalists, who have to work out their own survival tactics.

Mr. Toumiat said they avoid going into the streets, vary their travel habits and sleep in different places each night. They go to their jobs with frequently little more protection than the average citizen.

"They continue to do their work normally, and take some precautions, but nothing out of the ordinary," Mr. Toumiat added.

Three newspaper people have already died this month in a campaign to silence the fourth estate that is unprecedented in its scope and ferocity. They include a 27-year-old woman reporter with the Algiers daily *Arab Life*, the 36-year-old editor of the Arabic daily *Al Khabar* and the 43-year-old commercial director of the newspaper *Al Chaab*.

"The fundamentalist communiqués make it clear that journalists are the targets, and they

call on their followers to kill them," Mr. Toumiat said in a telephone interview from Algiers.

Many journalists have received miniature coffins through the mail, or death threats like this letter sent to the editor of a daily newspaper: "You are going to die. If not today, you can be sure you will die tomorrow. And your name will be inscribed in the glorious pages of the Islamic movement."

The Algerian conflict erupted in January 1992, when the government annulled elections that had been won by the fundamentalist-led Islamic Salvation Front. The killing of journalists began in May 1993 with the assassination of Tahaj Djoudi, 39, editor in chief of the weekly magazine *Ruptures*, which had opposed Islamic tenets.

With the rise of a shadowy and more bloodthirsty fundamentalist organization called the Armed Islamic Group, the number of murdered journalists rose inexorably after the group warned, "Those who fight with their pens will die by the Islamic tenets."

One reason they have been singled out as targets, Algerian journalists believe, is that along with intellectuals they are symbols of the modernity and cosmopolitanism that the fundamentalists oppose.

In an interview with Le Moude, Zohra Yahi, director of Radio-Alger, a French-language international service, explained why she thought journalists and foreigners, in particular, had become targets for the fundamentalists.

"Clearly, these killings do not correspond to any logic, other than that of hatred and despair," she said. "Unable to gain power through their religious arguments, the extremists want to deprive Algeria of all its leading classes, all of its citizens who are trying to create a politically, economically and culturally progressive and modern country."

Mr. Toumiat said one of the hardest things journalists had to bear was a sense of isolation — the feeling that the rest of the world does not know or care about their plight.

The isolation is intensified by the fact that very few foreign journalists are prepared to run the risk of being shot or having their throats cut. French television crews go to Algeria from time to time, but they are accompanied by heavy military escorts. The French Foreign Ministry advised journalists last week not to go to Algeria to cover the election.

To make it easier and safer for foreign correspondents to cover Algeria, the International Federation of Journalists in Brussels is setting up a secure press center in the Maison de la Presse in Algiers, a guarded complex where most media organizations have their offices. Journalists are considered to be safe inside the complex, but their lives are at risk as soon as they leave.

Omar Quartilan, editor of *Al Khabar*, was shot Oct. 3 only a few streets away from the center.



Three sons of Mohammed Abderrahmani, a slain editor, carrying his picture at his funeral.

Jean-Paul Marthoz, head of the federation's Media for Democracy program, is in Algiers this week to set up the press center, but he said he doubted it would be in operation until the beginning of December. He said it would be a point of contact between Algerian and foreign journalists, adding, "We do want a zone where foreign correspondents" can go.

Vocal support as well as some material support for the Algerian journalists also has come from the French-based group, Reporters Sans Frontières, and from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Paris. Its director general, Federico Mayor, has pledged that UNESCO "will continue to call for an end to this campaign of aggression against those who work to ensure the free flow of information so vital to democracy."

In previous conflicts, journalists have enjoyed some measure of safety if only because both governments and armed dissident groups wanted to get their message out. But this relative immunity started to break down in the Argentine dirty war in the 1970s, when many journalists were among those swept off the streets and murdered by the military.

In Colombia, crusading journalists were earmarked for murder by the cocaine cartels.

In response to such attacks, a group of American foreign correspondents established the Committee to Protect Journalists in New

York, which is closely watching the Algerian situation. Its research director, Évan Gidron, said that there was little the committee could do, however, other than to keep an accurate count of those killed — he put it at 50, although other organizations put it slightly higher or lower — and to lend a helping hand to the relative handful of journalists who manage to get out of the country and seek political asylum.

Rather than using the press, Islamic fundamentalists have turned to killing journalists as "a perverse way of getting publicity," Mr. Gidron said. Even with an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 people killed in the Algerian civil conflict, the murder of a journalist still attracts headlines and a prominent place on TV news, reinforcing the impression that they are a target of preference for the fundamentalist killers.

Despite the risk they face, most journalists are poorly paid. Mr. Toumiat said the average journalist's salary is about 10,000 dinars (\$200) a month. The families of some of those who were murdered were left completely without resources, he said.

Among journalists, Mr. Toumiat said, "There is a spirit of idealism. Otherwise, they would all have left the profession."

Omar Belhoucet, editor of *El Watan*, has escaped two assassination attempts. He wrote: "I cannot leave my country. It's a part of me. But I've no wish to be a martyr. I'm a fighter. I want to live. What good would it do if I died?"

Chrétien Pleads With Quebec Secession Would Be 'the End of a Dream'

By Charles Trueheart
Washington Post Service

really think it makes any sense, any sense at all, to break up Canada?"

Polls show Quebecers who have decided to vote for secession outnumber those who have decided to vote against. The referendum question seeks approval of sovereign status for Quebec coupled with an offer of partnership with the diminished remains of Canada.

His television address Wednesday night, made under the terms of a seldom-invoked governmental power for emergency broadcasts, was followed by equal time that the prime minister reportedly asked for Lucien Bouchard, the de facto separatist leader in Quebec.

Mr. Bouchard delivered a response whose French version was a spirited denunciation of Canada's record and Mr. Chrétien's intentions toward Quebec and whose English version stressed the prospect of a future friendly partnership of equal sovereign countries.

In the closing days of the referendum campaign, those promoting an independent Quebec have defied habit and pundits alike by turning public opinion polls around, surging to a statistical dead heat or better. Sensing the possibility of defeat and national fracture, the Chrétien government is pulling

out all the stops to wrest victory in the polls Monday.

The plum news Wednesday for the no side was a statement by Mr. Clinton expressing misgivings about the consequences of a divided Canada.

"I have seen how (Canada) works, how our partnership works, how the leadership of Canada, in so many ways throughout the world, works," Mr. Clinton said. "You know, everybody's got problems, but it looks like a country that is really doing the right things."

Praising Canada as a "strong and powerful ally," Mr. Clinton said, "I hope we'll be able to continue that."

Mr. Clinton's brief intervention was considered as a major boost to opponents of Quebec sovereignty — although one skeptical analyst on Canadian television said it had "the smell of desperation." Not just Quebecers but all Canadians are sensitive to U.S. displeasure and suspicious of U.S. interference.

Last weekend, after the possibility of a narrow separatist victory became undeniable, the Chrétien government reeled briefly. But it appears to have abandoned its strategy of turning the other cheek and has turned with gusto to a direct emotional appeal to patriotism.

Emotion has become the bat-

Court Ends Hearing in Tapie Case

DOUAL, France — A French appeals court on Thursday ended the match-fixing trial of Bernard Tapie and said it would announce on Nov. 28 whether or not the bankrupt former president of the Olympique Marseille soccer team would go to prison.

The prosecutor had asked that Mr. Tapie, 52, be jailed for four months, with 14 months suspended, and declared ineligible for public office for three years for corruption and interfering with a witness.

Mr. Tapie had appealed a lower court sentence of a year in jail with another year suspended for bribing players of the Valenciennes team to lose a game to Marseille in 1993.

The prosecutor asked the court to give an 18-month suspended sentence to Mr. Tapie's former top assistant at Marseille, Jean-Pierre Bernies.

He also asked the court to uphold sentences of a year suspended against a former Marseille player, Jean-Jacques Eydile, and six months suspended against former Valenciennes players Christophe Robert and Jorge Buruchaga.

Government officials in Saipan have warned residents of the Northern Mariana Islands that a nearby underwater volcano is showing signs that it might erupt. Residents were told to flee to high ground if they felt an earthquake.

Christopher to Stop Off to See Assad

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher will pay a brief visit to Damascus on Monday for talks with the Syrian president, Hafez Assad, the U.S. State Department said Thursday.

Mr. Christopher will make the visit on the way back from a Middle East economic summit in Amman, Jordan, according to a State Department spokesman.

The secretary of state called off a planned shuttle between Israel and Syria because of lack of progress in talks between the two countries.

Correction

An article in the editions of Oct. 26 misidentified the period in which Spanish anti-Basque death squads were operating in southern France. It was the 1980s.

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Bahrain	800-777	Finland +	9800-1-0284	Japan (Osaka) +	000-12-12	United Kingdom (BT)	800-13-0777
Barbados +	1-800-377-9000	France +	19-9-067	Korea +	000-12-12	United Kingdom (Mercury)	000-17-0777
Belgium +	0800-10014	Germany +	0130-001-013	Korea (K) +*	009-16	Vietnam City +	173-1077
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Bolivia	0800-3233	Greece (Athens) +	950-1566	Luxembourg +	8-0197		
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Congo (Kin.) +	000-001-3-0123	Indonesia (Kualalamp)	008-301-45	New Zealand (Society Islands) +	002-0-000-000-000		
Croatia +				New Zealand (Society Islands) +	002-0-000-000-000		
Cuba				New Zealand (Society Islands) +	002-0-000-000-000		
Cyprus +*				New Zealand (Society Islands) +	002-0-000-000-000		
Czech Republic +				New Zealand (Society Islands) +			

THE AMERICAS

POLITICAL NOTES

Powell Is Calling for Guidance

WASHINGTON — Edging still closer to a decision, Colin Powell — who has kept a sprawling field of presidential candidates wondering whether he plans to run — has in the last few days sounded out several well-known Republicans about his prospects, the finer points of raising money and the personal toll it could take.

His most recent call list included two conservatives who chose not to run but who have recently said positive things about General Powell's prospects: William J. Bennett, the former education secretary and drug policy director, and Jack Kemp, who was housing secretary in the Bush administration.

Among others General Powell has contacted are two major Republican fund-raisers, based in New York, who could help him assemble a fund-raising operation: Ronald S. Lauder, a wealthy cosmetic company executive, and Theodore J. Forstmann, who owns a financial company. Anna Cordasco, a spokeswoman for Mr. Forstmann, said: "They are friends. I know that they are in contact. More importantly, I know that Mr. Forstmann holds General Powell in the highest esteem and thinks he's a great American."

Mr. Lauder met General Powell during the Reagan administration, when Mr. Lauder worked in the Pentagon and later was Ambassador to Austria.

Mr. Bennett and Mr. Kemp refused to divulge details of their telephone conversations. But people familiar with the calls said that General Powell was particularly interested in their concerns about the effect of campaigning on their families that led them not to seek the nomination. General Powell's wife, Alma, has said it would be dangerous for her husband to run because he would be a target for "crazy people."

"I promised I wouldn't tell people what we said," Mr. Bennett said. Nevertheless, he sounded encouraged after the conversation. "My sense of General Powell is he's a guy who's done his book tour, sold nine gazillion books, and is now systematically thinking his way through whether he runs for president," he said. "This is not Bill Clinton. This is not a child of impulse."

Mr. Kemp also refused to discuss his conversation. His spokesman, Christian Pinkston, said, "It was a personal call. And he prefers to keep a private chat private."

Peggy Cifriano, a spokeswoman for General Powell, said, "The general is talking to a lot of people, friends, and he's taking his time to make his decision." (NYT)

Gingrich: Medicare to 'Wither'

WASHINGTON — Despite repeated Republican assurances that it is out to "preserve, protect and strengthen" Medicare, the House speaker, Newt Gingrich, says that Republicans now believe the Medicare system serving 37 million seniors will "wither on the vine" under the far-reaching reforms about to be passed by Congress.

The Georgia Republican's comments came during an appearance before a Blue Cross/Blue Shield Association meeting in Washington. Tony Blankley, a senior aide to Mr. Gingrich, confirmed the remarks but played down their significance. (LAT)

Quote/Unquote

President Bill Clinton, vowing that he will not submit to "economic blackmail" from a Republican Congress intent on forcing him to accept the Republican budget plan. "I am not going to let anybody hold Medicare or education or the environment or the future of this country hostage." (AP)

As Congress Plays Budget, Public Is Not Amused

By Adam Clymer
New York Times Service

Clinton renewed his threat to veto the Republican legislation.

Moreover, the Republicans' hope that they will get credit for courage in taking the bitter medicine needed to balance the budget gets little short-term encouragement.

Eighty-one percent of the public said that even if the Republican plan was enacted, the budget would not be balanced by the year 2002 — as the Congressional Budget Office has said it would. That deep-rooted skepticism, bred by 26 consecutive federal deficits, was not partisan; 75 percent of Republicans disbelieved their party.

The best news for the Republicans in the survey of 1,077 adults is that the public overwhelmingly shares their belief in the superiority of state government over federal government. The

message they hope to use this week to drown out Democratic complaints about budget cuts.

Forty-eight percent of the public said the federal government had too much power. 5 percent said states had too much power, and 37 percent said the balance was about right.

Dealing with one concrete program and not a general principle, 52 percent said states should set their own rules for Medicaid, the health program for the poor, as the Republican budget bills direct, while 43 percent said there should be one national policy. The margin of sampling error was plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Congressional Republicans have often said that they expect short-term polling damage over their plan to shave \$270 billion from the projected growth of Medicare over seven years,

the health system for the elderly, and this survey shows they have suffered it. While only a few say they are familiar with the Republican plan, by a 57 to 26 percent ratio, they disapprove of it.

But Republicans have also predicted that by the election next year, when the public will have seen that nothing much has changed in Medicare, they will reap the political benefits of deficit reduction.

This telephone poll, conducted Sunday through Tuesday, suggests that those benefits are not much to count on.

Given the choice between a balanced budget and significant cuts in Medicare or in Social Security, the public resoundingly preferred a continuing deficit with those programs for the elderly left alone. There was little partisan difference on these questions

as solid majorities of Republicans lined up with other Americans.

Choosing between a balanced budget and Social Security — which faces no cuts under the Republican bills in either House or Senate, only 27 percent preferred a balanced budget, compared to 70 percent who wanted to preserve Social Security unscathed.

When asked to choose between a balanced budget and undiminished Medicare benefits, the results were almost identical, with 27 percent picking a balanced budget and 67 percent uncut Medicare. Congressional Republicans maintain that there are no cuts for Medicare in their plan and that they are merely slowing its rate of increase to stabilize its finances.

But budget balancing did rank above tax cuts, by 60 percent to 35 percent.

Champion of Social Justice
New AFL-CIO Chief Likely to Be Tough

By Steven Greenhouse
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — John J. Sweeney, the new president of the AFL-CIO, was not playing by Marquis of Queensbury rules when he told the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors in July that if it pushed through a plan to cut 18,000 workers from its payroll, his union would conduct "a massive campaign of resistance and retribution."

Mr. Sweeney, who has spent 15 years as president of the Service Employees International Union, warned the Los Angeles officials that instead of forcing labor to accept their plan, they had better show workers some respect and sit down with union leaders to discuss less painful ways to make budget cuts.

And to show that he had some muscle to back up his threat, 3,000 members of his employees union were demonstrating outside.

Just minutes after he was elected the AFL-CIO's president Wednesday, Mr. Sweeney told all who would listen to expect many more such confrontations. He said he was dead serious about jettisoning the federation's gentlemanly ways and about transforming it into an

aggressive, often confrontationist, voice for American workers.

In campaigning against Thomas R. Donahue, the AFL-CIO's interim president, Mr. Sweeney made clear that he thought the federation had let labor become a patsy repeatedly victimized by management.

In a debate Tuesday at the federation's convention in New York, he told the union leaders that he deserved their support: "if you are tired of being treated like so much road kill on the highway of American life."

Despite the vinegar of his words, Mr. Sweeney, 61, will never be mistaken for firebrand union leaders like the mine workers' John L. Lewis. Mr. Sweeney is soft-spoken and slow to anger, inspiring workers not through emotional speeches, but by talking to them in a heart-to-heart way showing that he knows their problems.

Judging from his years at the helm of the 1.1-million member Service Employees Union, experts predict he will lead the 13-million member federation in several new directions at once.

He promises to try to bring more women and minority members into unions and into leadership positions. He revamped his union's board so that

20 of its 57 members are female, black or Hispanic.

"If it hadn't been for Sweeney, people like myself never would have been on the executive board," said Eliseo Medina, head of the service workers' San Diego local.

While the AFL-CIO has a reputation for focusing on protecting the best-paid workers, Mr. Sweeney plans to focus more on organizing and helping low-paid workers, like the 20,000 home health aides his union has organized.

John Joseph Sweeney was born in the Bronx on May 5, 1934, to parents who had immigrated from Ireland. His mother was a cleaning woman, and his father was a city bus driver who often took his son to meetings of the Transport Workers Union.

He first joined a labor union while working as a grave digger during college. His first job after college was at IBM, but he was happy to leave for a job at two-thirds the pay as a researcher for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

"John always wanted to be with labor unions," said his wife, the former Maureen Power. "Social justice is what motivates him. He has never forgotten where he came from."



John Sweeney, left, and Rich Trumpka, the newly elected leaders of U.S. organized labor.

Away From Politics

• Yolanda Saldivar has been sentenced to life in prison for shooting the singing star Selena to death last March at a Corpus Christi, Texas, motel. The prosecution had sought the maximum penalty of at least 30 years behind bars and a \$10,000 fine. (AP)

• Street lamps and traffic signals are flickering all over the District of Columbia, and in some cases are out, because the city has not paid its repair bill. For several weeks, Potomac Elec-

tric Power Co. has not been replacing and maintaining the District's 66,000 street lights and 1,350 traffic signals at intersections, except in emergencies. (WP)

• A doctor was awarded \$8.6 million by the jury in a federal court in Dallas from abortion opponents, whom the obstetrician-gynecologist said drove him from his practice, followed and harassed him and repeatedly threatened his life and that of his wife. The award, a record for a judgment against abortion protesters, was seen as a blow to the anti-abortion movement. (NYT)

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INTERNATIONAL

YELTSIN:
Hospitalized

Continued from Page 1

rienced severe heart pains July 10.

Mr. Ilyushin quoted the head of the clinic, Sergei Mironov, as saying Mr. Yeltsin's condition was "insufficient blood supply to the heart, related to his previous illness." The Kremlin aide also said Mr. Yeltsin would not undergo an operation.

Symptoms of ischemic include difficulty breathing or chest pains, and an attack can be caused by stress, high cholesterol, age or chronic high blood pressure. Drinking alcohol can exacerbate the condition.

Interfax said some aides who accompanied Mr. Yeltsin to the United States noticed that he was "extremely tired" on the final day of his visit. "They think the president might have had a recurrence of the old illness because of overexposure during the visit," Interfax said.

As was the case during the summer, Kremlin officials maintained tight control of information about Mr. Yeltsin's health.

No doctors who treated the president were available to speak with reporters, and the hospital declined to comment.

The Kremlin hurt its own credibility last summer when it released a photograph of Mr. Yeltsin seated at a table that purported to show him recovering in the hospital. News agencies compared the photo with taped video footage of Mr. Yeltsin from a trip several months earlier and discovered the images were identical. To quiet the resulting uproar, Mr. Yeltsin, who was recovering in a rest home, was forced to make an appearance before the cameras to assure a doubting public that he was alive and well.



A security guard gesturing to journalists on Thursday at the gates of the hospital where President Yeltsin was taken.

ITALY: Dini Survives Ouster Vote

Continued from Page 1

its traditional allies to join the center-right in trying to bring down the Dini government.

Fausto Bertinotti, leader of the Communist Refounding Party, may have been looking for a way out of this uncomfortable one-shot alliance when he announced Thursday that he was satisfied with Mr. Dini's promise and led his party in the vote boycott.

Mr. Dini on Thursday vigorously defended his administration, which he said was "hostage" to no political party. He also warned that any attempt to interrupt his mandate would

Senators Will Issue 49 Subpoenas for Whitewater Papers*The Associated Press*

WASHINGTON — The select Senate committee looking into the Whitewater affair agreed Thursday to issue 49 subpoenas of documents to the White House, regulatory agencies and potential witnesses with material relevant to the investigation.

The committee's chairman, Alfonso M. D'Amato, announced that the panel would recall Hillary Rodham Clinton's chief of staff and a

longtime friend of Mrs. Clinton's for further questioning next Thursday. They will be questioned about their conversations with Mrs. Clinton hours before the White House refused to let law enforcement officials examine the papers of the late Vincent W. Foster Jr.

Mr. Foster's files included financial information about the Clintons, including Whitewater, the failed real estate venture the Clintons were as-

sociated with when the president was governor of Arkansas.

In a unanimous voice vote, the panel subpoenaed documents from Yoly Redden, the former Whitewater accountant for the Clintons, and from Betsy Wright, a longtime top Clinton aide in Arkansas.

Mr. D'Amato, Republican of New York, initiated the subpoena strategy, saying the White House had withheld documents that the Senate needed for

its Whitewater investigation. Mr. D'Amato said that most of those who were being subpoenaed have already turned over material. But he said the subpoenas would reinforce the importance of turning over all relevant documents.

Meanwhile, new disclosures came out Wednesday about Mrs. Clinton's telephone calls in the days after Mr. Foster's death.

The night Mr. Foster died, Mrs.

Clinton telephoned a Hollywood producer, Harry Thomason, who had been involved in the White House travel office controversy that investigators later found contributed to Mr. Foster's depression. Mr. Thomason's lawyer said nothing substantive was discussed in the four-minute call, but Mr. D'Amato said the fact that the call was only recently disclosed was part of a "disturbing pattern of late document submission" by the White House.

EIRE:
Waves Out West

Continued from Page 1

farm, are against the beacon. "I believe there is a health risk," she said, adding that when the government presented its plan for the beacon it showed concern for birds that might fly into the structure and for the interned bodies of victims of the Great Famine of the 1840s. "There were pages devoted to birds and pages to bones," she said, "but nothing to me."

The government minister for the marine, Sean Barrett, said: "There is no evidence to suggest that the installation would constitute a public health hazard. Loran C is under the control of civil authorities, has nothing to add to the variety of sophisticated military systems in use and has no significance from a military or nuclear perspective."



Prime Minister Dini, top left, being congratulated Thursday after winning a key vote.

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Herald Tribune
THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER

A New Campaign Takes On 'Sleazy' TV Talk Shows

Hosts, Advertisers and Viewers Assailed

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — William Bennett, who shook up Time Warner with a noisy denunciation of offensive rap lyrics, has found some new targets: Sally, Ricki, Jenny, Montel and Geraldo.

The former education secretary is joining forces with Senator Joseph I. Lieberman, Democrat of Connecticut, to mount a high-profile assault on daytime TV talk shows and the big companies that produce them. He said Wednesday that the hosts, the owners, the guests, the advertisers and the millions of viewers must share the blame for the televised "rot" that "degrades human personality."

"This is an indicator of social decline," Mr. Bennett said.

"Things used to cause people a sense of guilt or embarrassment, they used to keep quiet about it. Now it's a ticket —

you go out and talk about it."

While concerned about surveys showing that 6 percent of daytime talk viewers are under age 11, Mr. Bennett said, "The easiest point of entry for those of us who want to debate this is: You're frightening the horses and corrupting the children. But you have to deal with the fact that consenting adults are engaged in pretty self-destructive behavior. This stuff pushes the edge of the envelope."

Mr. Bennett drew qualified support from an unexpected quarter. "Bennett is on to something," said Gerald Rivera, a talk-show host. "I only wish the people involved were less sanctimonious and ideological. A lot of what motivates them isn't a sense of morality but a sense of politics and pandering."

Still, he said, "when you see what Jerry Springer and Jenny Jones and Ricki Lake have been doing, it is appalling. You can't put lesbians making out onstage."

"We have 4.5 million viewers," said Sally Jessy Raphael.

"Are we going to tell them you can't watch my show any more? People who are down on talk shows generally have a rather elitist viewpoint."

Mr. Bennett and Senator Lieberman plan radio ads on the issue and a letter-writing campaign to the companies that own and distribute the programs, including Multimedia (Sally Jessy Raphael, Phil Donahue, Jerry Springer); King World (Oprah, Rosanna); Tribune (Geraldo); Paramount (Montel Williams, Maury Povich); Columbia Tri-Star (Ricki Lake); Time Warner (Jenny Jones); and 20th Century Fox and CBS (Gordon Ellyott).

Some of the seamier highlights of TV talk shows, as compiled by Mr. Bennett's staff:

• A husband who was seeing a prostitute for two years is confronted by his wife (Jenny Jones).

• A husband tells his humiliated wife he is having an affair, and the mistress is introduced (Jerry Springer).

• "My Daughter Is Living as a Boy" (Sally Jessy Raphael).

• A 17-year-old girl boasts of sleeping with more than 100 men (Montel Williams).

• Mothers try to save their daughters from teenage prostitution (Geraldo).

Bennett dismissed the argument that daytime television is simply confronting difficult problems. "Civilization depends upon keeping certain things under wraps," he said. "There's clearly an underside to human beings, it's a little weird when you start celebrating the worst things in public."

DAIWA: Scandal Irks Japanese

Continued from Page 1

France can spend its way out of social tensions and into growth and jobs.

He went farther than ever in explicitly acknowledging the limits of the government's power to impose decisions on the Bank of France or international money markets, saying that he was determined to put the nation's financial house in order so that interests would come down via market forces.

In admitting that deficit-cutting now appeared to be "the priority of priorities," Mr. Chirac sought to repackage budget austerity more palatably by making it a French goal, not an objective imposed by the Maastricht treaty, an accord that is deeply suspect in the nationalist wing of Mr. Chirac's Gaullist followers.

Persistently asked about contradictions in his electoral promises that have contributed to confusion in government policies, Mr. Chirac several times acknowledged that he had "perhaps underestimated" the importance of the deficit issue or other challenges to putting into practice his plans for reviving economic growth and creating jobs.

In concluding, Mr. Chirac said that he expected his tough stance about cuts in government spending to make him unpopular, at least temporarily. "I am not in office to be popular, I am in office to do a job," he said, adding that he has the time of his seven-year mandate to see through the task and reap the political benefits.

But it remains to be seen in practice whether it will end the recent policy zig-zagging that has led to record lows in poll ratings. A poll to be published Friday in Le Point magazine showed 14 percent of the French are satisfied with Mr. Chirac, down from 21 percent a month ago, with Mr. Juppé winning approval from only 12 percent.

More details are likely to come out, particularly if U.S. prosecutors decide to indict Daiwa Bank executives on cover-up charges. The key trader in the affair, Toshihide Iguchi, has pleaded guilty. A trial of Daiwa executives holds the potential for an unprecedented dissecting of the Japanese regulatory world.

Yukio Noguchi, an economics professor at Hitotsubashi University, said the regulators' lack of action with Daiwa was born out of the economic system that evolved in Japan after World War II.

One of the features of that system is close ties between the Japanese government and business," Mr. Noguchi said. "It is a close, family-like group. And within this group, not all the rules are explicitly spelled out."

At the heart of this system is the belief that secrecy is needed to maintain stability. Because of this, the Finance Ministry and banks for years denied there was a serious problem with bad loans. Even now, analysts believe the ministry's \$400 billion estimate of the total amount of bad debt held by Japanese institutions is too low.

The Daiwa case only broke into the open because it arose in the United States, where regulation is tougher, said Tadahide Ikuza, a journalist who has written extensively about the ministry. If it had happened in Japan, he said the ministry would have "first tried to take care of the problem themselves, then as measures were taken, they would gradually make things public."

Underlying this system of secrecy is the ministry's belief that they can control the pace of change, and in this case, control damage," said Mineo Sasaki-Smith, senior economist with Morgan Stanley & Co. in Tokyo.

Finance Ministry officials declined to be interviewed about the criticism, except to say this statement: "We have learned a lesson from what happened recently. We will continue to deal with various issues, including bad loans in the Japanese banking system so that it will be stabilized and gain confidence in international markets."

Over the past several days, top Japanese banking officials have publicly declared the banking system sound and the worst problems behind it. But international financial markets, spooked by the idea that another Daiwa could lay hidden, are not listening.

Japanese stocks fell to a one-month low Thursday, Bloomberg Business News reported from Tokyo. Traders said banking shares led the decline as concern mounted that lenders will continue to be battered by bad loans, hidden losses and the additional cost they must pay to raise money abroad following a loss of confidence caused by the Daiwa Bank scandal.

The Nikkei stock average fell 244.13 points to 17,726.68. The average has fallen 2 percent this week.

Rather than create stability, secrecy in Japan's financial system has fostered mistrust, most evident in the so-called "Japan premium," the extra interest that Japanese banks must now pay to raise money in international financial markets. Kyodo News Service reported that the premium rose again Thursday, reaching 1 percent.

A statement Thursday by Toru Hashimoto, president of Fuji Bank and

EUROPE

BRIEFLY EUROPE

EU Parliament Condemns N-Tests

STRASBOURG — The European Parliament on Thursday condemned the French and Chinese nuclear testing programs, saying that they had harmed efforts to halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

The assembly said in a resolution that it "condemns the continuation of nuclear tests by the Chinese government and condemns the decision of the French president to authorize the second nuclear test despite the continuing protests."

But it steered clear of repeating previous attacks on the European Commission, which has a role in monitoring the safety of the French tests in the South Pacific. (Reuters)

German Doubts Monetary Union

BONN — Joschka Fischer, the firmly pro-European leader of Germany's Greens party, doubts the European Union can launch a common currency by the Maastricht treaty's 1999 deadline.

Mr. Fischer, whose once-radical party is now the third-largest political force in Bonn, believes Chancellor Helmut Kohl will not be able to ram through an economic and monetary union as he did when Germany merged the monetary systems of East and West in 1990.

"Even Kohl's thick skull will take a few knocks from reality," Mr. Fischer said Wednesday.

National differences within the Union and the symbolism the Deutsche mark has for Germans make a common currency in a few years very doubtful, he added. (Reuters)

Paper Publishes More of Diary

COPENHAGEN — A Danish newspaper on Thursday printed the controversial diary of Ritt Bjerregaard, the EU environment commissioner, defying her decision not to publish the book, which contains unflattering descriptions of European leaders.

Ms. Bjerregaard, who told her publishers to scrap the book, "The Commissioner's Diary," after excerpts were printed in the newspaper Politiken, said she would sue the paper for reproducing the book without her consent.

"This is a severe contravention of copyright law," a spokesman at the Danish commissioner's Brussels office said. "All future developments will be handled by Ritt Bjerregaard's lawyers." (Reuters)

Bad News for Chirac and Juppé

PARIS — Public approval of President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Alain Juppé has hit a record low after less than six months in office, according to an opinion poll released Thursday.

An IPSOS poll, to be published Friday in the weekly news magazine *Le Point*, said 14 percent of the French were satisfied with Mr. Chirac, down from 21 percent a month ago. The percentage of dissatisfied voters climbed to 74 percent.

Twelve percent said they were satisfied with Mr. Juppé, down from 18 percent last month, and 74 percent were disappointed. The crash in the government's popularity seems to reflect anger over economic issues and the resumption of nuclear tests in the South Pacific. (Reuters)

French Navy Defends Boarding

PARIS — The French Navy has defended its boarding of a Greenpeace vessel in the Italian port of Brindisi, saying Thursday that the environmentalists' boat had rammed a French destroyer to prevent it from leaving harbor.

A spokesman for the French Foreign Ministry described the action Wednesday by the environmental group as "unacceptable and contrary to the laws of the sea."

The Italian Foreign Ministry had summoned a French diplomat to explain why commandos from the destroyer Dupleix raided the Greenpeace ship Altair.

Greenpeace called the boarding an "act of war." It said commandos wearing gas masks broke windows on the Altair's bridge and threw in six tear gas grenades. (Reuters)

Calendar

European Union events scheduled for Friday:

BRUSSELS: Hans van den Broek, commissioner for relations with Eastern Europe, meets with Janko Dezak, Slovenia's minister of economic development.

LUND, Sweden: European Commission President Jacques Santer attends an employment forum.

MADRID: Edith Cresson, science commissioner, meets with the Spanish minister for research, Jeronimo Saavedra, and takes part in a colloquium on scientific cooperation with Latin America. Sources: Agence Europe, AFP

NATO Widens Search for New Chief
Alliance Is Lukewarm to the 2 Prospective Candidates

By Tom Buerkle
International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — The 16 NATO allies want to widen their search for a new secretary-general beyond the existing Danish and Dutch candidates, a step that will probably prolong the hunt for several weeks, senior officials said Thursday.

"We're throwing the net very wide," a NATO diplomat said. "We want somebody who's got vision and a good deal of strength. We want a strong leader this time."

The broadened search was underscored by the British government, which acknowledged that it was considering fielding one of its people for the post vacated when

Willy Claes resigned last week to deal with charges he knew about a bribery scandal. But speculation about a possible candidacy by Sir Leon Brittan, the European Union's trade commissioner, appeared to reflect a paucity of other strong British candidates rather than a determined campaign on his behalf, European officials said.

The search indicated a lack of consensus among NATO members on either Uffe Ellermann-Jensen, the former Danish foreign minister who is backed by Copenhagen, or Ruud Lubbers, the former Dutch prime minister who has declined to formally declare his candidacy but has made clear he would accept the job if offered. French and German officials gave no

indication of any progress on a successor as President Jacques Chirac met with Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn on Wednesday evening. The French have indicated a preference for Mr. Lubbers, but the Dutch government worries that Mr. Kohl might block Mr. Lubbers, as he did a year ago when the Dutchman was seeking the presidency of the European Commission.

Officials said Mr. Kohl had given no indication of his stance except to exclude a German candidate.

NATO officials played down the urgency of filling the position, although they said it was important to do so before the semiannual meeting of alliance defense ministers on Nov. 29 and 30.

A New Ulster Voice Warms Up for U.S.

New York Times Service

BELFAST — David Trimble, the outspoken new leader of the largest Protestant party in Northern Ireland, does not disagree with people who call him arrogant. When he makes his first visit to the White House next week, he says, he is ready to tell President Bill Clinton what the United States should

be doing, and not be doing, in his home province.

The Americans may not agree with the pugnacious lawyer who was elected six weeks ago as head of the Ulster Unionist Party, but they are likely to listen to him because his support is vital to advancing peace efforts for Northern Ireland.

The White House has made it clear that it wants a new British-Irish peace plan in place when Mr. Clinton visits here next month. For this they need the agreement of both Sinn Fein, the Irish Republican Army's political arm, and of Mr. Trimble, now the most influential leader of the Protestant majority in the North, who is vehemently opposed to the ultimate IRA goal of a united Ireland free of British control.

And he feels that, while he is willing to talk of a new political settlement, the White House is pushing too hard, hoping Mr. Clinton can gain politically by appearing to take some credit for progress toward a permanent peace.

In an interview in his office, Mr. Trimble, a member of the British Parliament with a reputation for hard-line politics, a short temper and an unwillingness to suffer fools, discussed his politics, his suspicion of American efforts here, his mistrust of the Sinn Fein, his view of the province's political future, and his own personality. "I didn't say I wasn't arrogant," he said, with a slight smile. "There is a suspicion about that President Clinton simply wants matters speeded up so that on the eve of the first primaries he will have some goodies."

When he makes his scheduled visit to the White House on Tuesday, he said, he intends to tell the president to put pressure on Sinn Fein to agree to a process that would start the disarmament of the IRA arsenal, estimated at 100 tons of weapons, including explosives.

If the White House succeeds in that, he said, he might agree to the start of new talks that would include Sinn Fein.

JAMES F. CLARITY

Stockholm Says No to Extradition

Reuters

STOCKHOLM — Sweden's Justice Ministry said Thursday it had rejected an official request from France for the extradition of an Algerian accused of involvement in a Paris bombing, but it might still expel him from Sweden.

The Justice Ministry said in a statement that the man, Abdellah Deneche, would not be extradited to France because of a high court ruling that he had provided an alibi that placed the French extradition request in doubt.

But the government kept the door open for a possible expulsion of Mr. Deneche to a third country.

The government will make a decision in the coming weeks on the question of deportation, the statement said.

Mr. Deneche, who has asked to be freed from his prison in Sweden, said he was in Stockholm on July 25, the day the French police allege he was involved in an attack on an underground train in Paris that killed seven people and wounded 86 at the Saint-Michel station. The Swedish authorities said Mr. Deneche had produced a postal receipt proving he was in Stockholm on July 25.

Iceland Avalanche: 16 Die

Reuters

REYKJAVIK — Sixteen people were found dead and four were missing 12 hours after an avalanche smashed into Flateyri, a village in northwestern Iceland, on Thursday, rescue workers said. The avalanche struck at 4 A.M. and buried 17 houses.



KNEE-COPS — Policewomen in Lübeck, Germany, in a protest over working conditions on Thursday.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, PLEASE CONTACT

Brenda Erdmann, International Herald Tribune
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Zanzibar Re-Elects President

Reuters

ZANZIBAR, Tanzania — Tanzania's governing party was declared the winner Thursday in Zanzibar's presidential election by the narrowest of margins, and election officials rejected complaints of rigging.

The long-awaited outcome of last Sunday's first multiparty poll in the islands in more than three decades left Salmin Amour of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi in power for five more years.

The Zanzibar Electoral Commission said Mr. Amour had received 163,271 votes, while Seif Sharif Hamad had received 163,706.

"The election results are a true reflection of the people's choice," the electoral commission chairman, Zubeir Juma, told a news conference.



Supporters of President Salmin Amour celebrating his re-election in the streets of Zanzibar on Thursday.

Defense Chiefs Huddle in U.S. Perry and Grachev Will Discuss Bosnia

Reuters

WASHINGTON — Defense Minister Pavel S. Grachev of Russia flew to Washington on Thursday for talks with Defense Secretary William J. Perry on how Russian troops would take part in a peacekeeping force in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The defense chiefs will meet at the Pentagon to try to break an impasse between Moscow and Washington over Russia's refusal to have its troops serve under NATO command in Bosnia.

Mr. Perry said he had some new ideas to bring to the table. But he declined to give details and stressed that the United States and NATO continued to insist that any peacekeeping force be under command of the western alliance.

NATO is preparing to send up to 60,000 troops, about 20,000 of them Americans, to the former Yugoslavia if the presidents of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia reach agreement in peace talks that begin Wednesday at an air force base in Ohio.

NATO sources said Wednesday that Russia might commit 2,000 combat troops to Bosnia under its own tactical command as part of an alliance-led multinational operation.

The sources said that under a delicate compromise with the United States, which will run the peace implementation force, the Russian troops would operate in a mixed sector, probably alongside French soldiers, but would have their own tactical command.

Such a deal would mirror similar arrangements with France, a NATO member but not part of the alliance's integrated military structure. France has to have its own tactical command within the broader NATO structure.

Mr. Perry said Wednesday that he was "hopeful" rather than "confident" that the dispute could be resolved despite statements by President Bill Clinton and the Russian president, Boris N. Yeltsin, this week that they had agreed in principle that Russia should help oversee any peace agreement.

As the troop talks got under way, Mr. Yeltsin was taken to a hospital in Moscow with heart problems. It is his second heart-related illness in just over three months.

President Clinton has warned Congress that the United States' failure to join the Bosnia peace force could lead to a wider European war.

"If we fail to secure this peace, the conflict in the former Yugoslavia could spread to other nations and involve our sons and daughters in a conflict in Europe," he said.

Representatives of both parties in Congress have voiced serious misgivings about a mission they fear could be open-ended and hazardous.

Meanwhile, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher and Washington's envoy to the region, Richard C. Holbrooke, were meeting with aides to discuss the peace conference at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio.

Viveca Lindfors, Actress, Dies at 74By David Stout
New York Times Service

than one observer to proclaim her an actress of Garboesque beauty.

Her American screen debut was two years later in "Night Unto Night," with Ronald Reagan.

The director was Don Siegel, who would become her third husband.

Her early starring roles in American movies included parts in "Adventures of Don Juan" (1948), with Errol Flynn; "No Sad Songs for Me" (1950), with Margaret Sullivan, and "Four in a Jeep" (1951), with Ralph Meeker, for which she won the Best Actress of the Year International Film Award.

Dr. Lucjan Dobrozycki, Historian of Polish Jews

NEW YORK (NYT) — Dr. Lucjan Dobrozycki, 70, ended and then chronicled the life of Poland's doomed Jewish community before, during and after the Holocaust, died of cancer Tuesday at Mount Sinai Medical Center. He was senior research associate at the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research in Manhattan.

Ms. Lindfors appeared in many plays in Sweden and was considered that country's leading film attraction before leaving in 1946 for the United States, where her auburn hair and elegant features led more

BALKANS: Details Emerge on the Desperate Trek by 12,000 Muslim Men Through Serbian Killing Fields

Continued from Page 1

asphalt road between Nova Kasaba and Konjevic Polje, which was patrolled by dozens of Serbian tanks and armored vehicles. As they penetrated deeper into Serbian-controlled territory, the marchers were repeatedly shelled and ambushed.

Serbian fighters, many of them dressed in black uniforms with white T-shirts, decimated the Muslims with mortar and heavy machine-gun fire. Men coming up from the rear of the column came across piles of bodies dumped in streams. Many had slit throats. Others were decapitated.

At this point, the column began to split up. Many surrendered. Others headed off in a different direction, attempting to cross the Konjevic Polje-Branice road at Kravica. Terrified by the scenes of carnage around them, many people simply lost their minds. Some experienced hallucinations that they later attributed to grenades of poison gas fired by the Serbs.

"People began acting crazy, hallucinating, hugging trees, trying to kill themselves," said Sulfo Salihovic, 30.

Some men committed suicide rather than give themselves up. The UN commissioner for human rights, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, reported that one man shot himself in the face, but failed to kill himself. He had to plead with friends to finish the job. A marcher, Ramiz Becirevic, described an incident in which a man took his own life with a grenade and killed five other people as well.

Thousands of men were rounded up by Serbian forces as they attempted to cross the main roads at Kravica and Nova Kasaba. Some were tricked into surrendering by Serbian soldiers driving captured UN vehicles in their distinctive white colors and masquerading as UN troops.

According to survivors, mass killings of captives

occurred in both Kravica and Nova Kasaba. The best-documented incidents occurred in the Nova Kasaba area. On July 12 and 13, U.S. satellites and spy planes took photographs of hundreds of people in a soccer stadium, later identified by eyewitnesses as one of several Serbian detention camps. Several days later, American aerial reconnaissance recorded an empty stadium, together with four large patches of freshly dug earth in nearby fields and new truck tracks.

Addressing a closed session of the UN Security Council a month later, the American ambassador, Madeleine K. Albright, accused the Bosnian Serbs of killing many of the detainees in the soccer stadium and burying them in mass graves. The photographs corroborated eyewitness testimony of several survivors, including Husein Mustafic, who kept a written record of his experiences. Mr. Mustafic told investigators that he hid in some tall reeds near the main road for 48 hours and watched the "Chetniks" — a derogatory term for Serbs — executing their captives.

The Chetniks picked out Muslims whom they either knew about or knew, interrogated them, and then made them dig pits which would be used as mass graves," Mr. Mustafic told Human Rights Watch. "During our first day there, the Chetniks killed approximately 500 people. They would just line them up and shoot them into the pits. The men who had dug the mass graves then had to fill them in."

"At the end of the day," he added, "they were ordered to dig a pit for themselves" and "were shot into it."

According to numerous eyewitnesses, the operation to round up draft-age Muslim men was personally supervised by General Mladic, who was indicted by the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague in July for his alleged participation in earlier atrocities.

A career Yugoslav Army officer, General Mladic came to international attention with his ruthless conduct of the siege of Sarajevo. According to an intercepted radio communication, he ordered his subordinates to shell the civilian population in a way that would "stretch their brains."

Bosnian Serbian television showed General Mladic handing out candy to Muslim children in the Srebrenica enclave on Wednesday, July 12, as his troops consolidated their control over the "safe area." Refugees remember the general telling them, "We won't hurt you — we are the regular army." He repeated such assurances on a half-dozen other occasions over the next few days, including places like Nova Kasaba that would shortly become the sites of mass executions.

Most of the prisoners who were rounded up in the Nova Kasaba and Kravica areas were taken by bus or truck to the town of Bratunac. There, according to several former detainees, they spent a terror-filled night as Bosnian Serbian soldiers pulled people off buses for "interrogation."

"Each time someone left, they didn't return," said Small Hodzic, 63, told Human Rights Watch.

Another eyewitness, Hurem Suljic, said he was kept in a warehouse in Bratunac for two days, during which time Bosnian Serbian soldiers interrogated and tortured dozens of prisoners.

In the evening of Thursday, July 13, General Mladic's men began transporting their captives to the town of Karakaj. The prisoners were led into a school gymnasium where, according to several accounts, up to 2,500 people were detained. The men were made to strip to the waist and surrender their identification papers. Their hands were tied behind their backs. There were

more beatings and summary executions.

"Who's country is this?" the men were made to chant, as a Serbian soldier hit them with the barrel of a gun. "This is Serbian land. It always was, and it always will be."

Several eyewitnesses, including Mr. Suljic, reported seeing General Mladic at the school.

The men were loaded onto trucks and taken on a five-minute drive to an execution site, of which there were at least two. According to testimony collected by Human Rights Watch, one of the sites was a grass meadow, the other a gravel field on top of a plateau.

The prisoners were machine-gunned minutes after being made to jump out of the trucks.

Some removed their blindfolds first, and cried out in fear as they saw a field littered with corpses.

"They ordered us to lie down, and as I threw myself on the ground, I heard gunfire," recalled Avdic, a 17-year-old Muslim interviewed by Human Rights Watch. "I was hit in my right arm and three bullets went through the right side of my torso."

The executioners moved among the corpses, looking for any sign of life and occasionally putting an extra bullet through someone's head. "There were means of 'kill me, just finish me off.' The survivors could hear the sound of bulldozers in the background, shoveling corpses into tractor-trailers. As it grew dark, the executioners decided to resume their grisly work in the morning.

When the Serbs left, a tiny handful of survivors began picking themselves off the ground. Human Rights Watch investigators were able to trace four men who survived the Karakaj massacres. They reached government-controlled territory around the town of Tuzla after a long trek through enemy lines.

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EDITORIALS/OPINION

International Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Two Guys in New York Castro Makes Waves

Fidel Castro moved through New York City this week like some vestigial presence from another era, meeting with business leaders, journalists, citizens and foreign diplomats but shunned by American political leaders from President Bill Clinton to New York City's mayor, Rudolph Giuliani. He dropped by The New York Times on Wednesday, a startling Cold War apparition with a disarming sense of humor and an unbending allegiance to Cuban socialism. It was a little like looking up and finding Mao Zedong or Nikita Khrushchev standing in the doorway.

Vignettes from Mr. Castro's third visit to the city in his nearly 37 years as Cuba's leader are worth some consideration. President Clinton found him so toxic he managed to avoid even the possibility of a chance encounter at a UN dinner and photo session of world leaders. Mr. Giuliani made sure the city offered no official hospitality to Mr. Castro. But there was David Rockefeller, stepping up to shake his hand at a reception; other American business leaders were also eager to see the Cuban. Mr. Castro received a warm ovation from foreign leaders when he addressed the General Assembly.

If nothing else, the visit suggested how archaic Washington's isolation of Cuba is now that the Cold War is over. Mr. Castro may not have changed all that much, and he still runs an unforgiving dictatorship in Cuba, but he no longer represents even a remote threat to the United States. American policy should be aimed at encouraging democratic change in Cuba. Spurning him and ostracizing his country are only likely to harden his authoritarian rule. If America can man-

age relations with Vietnam and China, surely it can find a more sophisticated way of dealing with Mr. Castro.

America's efforts to topple the Cuban leader have a lengthy history and a powerful constituency. They go back to his first months in power and cover the Bay of Pigs fiasco and a long string of intelligence operations, including bizarre assassination plots and economic pressures. Over the years they have been supported by a vocal segment of the Cuban-American community and its conservative allies. But newer Cuban-American leaders challenge the wisdom of inflicting further punishment on their Cuban relatives.

If today's American policymakers had not inherited an embargo against Cuba, they would have no reason to impose one. Mr. Clinton recently eased restrictions on social and cultural exchanges and has been trying to fend off Republican attempts to tighten the economic embargo. But he seems to have concluded that a more radical break with existing policy would cost him Florida's votes next year.

Washington's tired policy may have served the political interests of successive American presidents. It has clearly served Mr. Castro's political interests, providing him with an excuse for economic privation. He has shown little willingness to consider the economic or political reforms that would make it much easier for Washington to justify a change in course.

But ostracism scarcely serves the best interests of the United States. Mr. Castro will always carry a special emotional charge for Americans. Treating him as a mortal enemy only exaggerates his importance and delays the day when Cubans can enjoy the democratic government they deserve.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

becoming an effective force against Palestinian terrorism. Israeli officials credit him with growing effectiveness in acting against terrorists and in drawing Hamas, the suicide-bomb group, toward a truce in its war with Israel and an agreement with mainstream Palestinians to take part in the coming self-rule elections.

The political rationale for the Giuliani foreign policy is presumably to cultivate the city's large Jewish vote. In fact, the American Jewish community appears to be suspicious of Mr. Arafat's professed change of stripes but ready to test him by his deeds. This describes the Israeli government's attitude, too.

It can't be easy to be a New Yorker. The United Nations traffic upon officials and citizens alike constant decisions on whom to slap, whom to fete.

While the mayor was insulting Mr. Arafat, a Harlem Baptist church and the Council on Foreign Relations were welcoming Fidel Castro, the Cuban president. His hosts have right and reason to receive him. We just wish they could find ways to convey some awareness that he is a 37-year dictator and champion violator of human rights.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

A Just Budget

In their present form, the big budget-balancing bills now before the House and Senate would do more harm than good. We nonetheless hope they are quickly passed, and a final version agreed to, so that it can be as quickly vetoed and the real work can begin. First the formalities of passage and veto have to be gone through. Only then, it seems, will the president and two parties in Congress sit down to see if they can work out a deal.

We continue to think, perhaps naively, that a pretty good deal is well within their reach and that it would be a shame if they lost this chance to reach it. But the right deal — one that would get the deficit down without destroying important federal programs — may take more political courage than either party has.

The Republicans have performed an enormously valuable service in pressing for a balanced budget. Sure, their party bears its large share of responsibility for the present imbalance and, no, it's not just fiscal rectitude they seek; they have any number of broad and not always defensible social goals as well. Nor does it particularly matter whether the budget is precisely balanced in seven years or only roughly balanced in eight or nine. What counts is that the deficit is brought down into the neutral zone, where it isn't now. That's what the basic goal of policy has to be: the Republicans are the ones who, this year, made it so; and they deserve the credit for that.

To achieve the goal, even the thought of a tax cut should be deferred. The Republicans are wrong to push for the large, loosely conceived tax cut that is so large a part of their agenda. The president was

equally wrong to mimic them by saying he was in favor of a similar, only smaller, cut. For once, they should just say no.

The right deal would also put less pressure than the Republicans propose on the health care giants, Medicare and Medicaid. The risk is that in trying to control the costs of the programs while reducing the role of the government, they will end up stranding lower-income people who are at present cared for and can't afford to buy care on their own. The trick is to discipline the programs but not destroy them. Likewise, the Republicans propose deeper cuts than ought to be made in welfare and such programs as the earned-income tax credit, which supplements the wages of lower-income workers with children especially, and housing assistance.

The way to get to the right fiscal place without squeezing these basic programs too hard is to broaden the effort and reach into parts of the budget that partly for political reasons both parties have put out of bounds. We have in mind particularly Social Security, which by itself is a fifth of all spending. The right device is to limit cost-of-living increases and other inflation adjustments for a number of years, including those adjustments that keep inflation from driving up income taxes.

To achieve such a budget, both parties would have to give some ground, impose some (mostly modest) burdens on constituents they have sworn to protect and so on. They'd have to do it together, no cheap shots after the fact. We think that they'd both gain from such a deal — that the public would react almost with joy at finally having leaders who truly led.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Maintain the Embargo on Cuba's Loser of a Leader

By William Safire

NEW YORK — In a tie and suit, Fidel Castro, describing himself as a politician, flattered the media bigwigs gathered for lunch in Mort Zuckerman's Fifth Avenue apartment with: "You are the cream of the crop."

A dollop of sour cream came from this corner: If you claim to be a politician, why have you been unwilling for almost 37 years to face an opponent in a democratic election?

The Cuban dictator down-mouthing elections as "a popularity competition between political personalities" engaged in by "speakers good at theatrics, demagogues and liars. I don't want to get involved in that kind of competition."

Fidel, the nondemagogue, is above all that. He took pains to remind us he had won a law school election, 180-to-33, and had perfected the techniques of organization and direct mail "even before your Christian right."

Then why not let the Cuban people vote? "I am not afraid, but we do not have presidential elections in our country." Later, he compared his selection to that of the Pope, elected by a ballot of cardinals.

All this nonsense is being peddled by

the only totalitarian ruler in the hemisphere; his secret police informers, trained by the Stasi spies of East Germany, permeate every Cuban village and walk of life. Amnesty International counts 600 prisoners rotting in Cuban jails for daring to oppose the dictator's rule; the Stasi and the old KGB would be proud of their pupil.

Mr. Castro, who rules by fear, avoids free elections because he is afraid he would lose. That should not be surprising because he is one of the great losers of our time.

After seizing power, he lost his revolutionary soul by taking Cuba down the Communist road to repression. He lost all chance for prosperity by burdening the people with 3.2 million government workers and a huge standing army to protect his regime from any need for elections. He lost Cuba's independence by making it a vassal of the Soviet Union, addicted to Soviet subsidies, renting our Cuban youth as mercenaries in Moscow's failed African adventures; and when that blood money dried up, Cubans suffered as never before.

Despite that record of colossal failure, he gets the loudest applause of all speakers at the United Nations.

Why? Not for anything he has done for Cubans, nor for his necrophilic love for a dead doctrine. His popularity in the striped-pants set is rooted solely in his four-decade defiance of the United States and his contempt for American democracy.

Every UN diplomat who envies and respects U.S. power gets a kick out of cheering Mr. Castro, who has clung to unelected power during nine elected U.S. presidencies. (As the dictator denounced the Americans, only the Israelis sat on their hands.)

Turning biblical righteousness on its head, he is playing David to the American Goliath, a strategy aimed at snatching one tiny, personal victory.

That is why he told the luncheon that "the U.S. is so astonishingly powerful that not even the Romans, Napoleon, the Germans in both world wars can compare. Your economic and political influence has no parallel."

In the face of such power, unlike David, "we don't even have a slingshot."

This is the plaintive we're-no-longer-a-

threat plea. End your embargo; send us your tourists; subsidize my regime with your investment money; help me adopt capitalism without freedom and rule for life with an iron fist; let me enjoy the last laugh at the exiles in Miami and the Colossus of the North.

This from the man who sumpted Cuba's growth and jailed or exiled many of its patriots. To obscure his failure, the Communist who victimized his people poses as the victim of a United States that claims seeks "hegemony in a unipolar world."

Some U.S. business executives complain that state-monopoly deals help him sell this line; they're the same ones who assured us that trade would bring an end to repression in China.

President Bill Clinton cannot admit it publicly for fear of losing Florida in 1996, but if reelected, I suspect he would end all pressure to bring down Mr. Castro, rotting out the same vague reason he used to embrace Vietnam: "It's time."

It will only be "time" when Dictator Castro quits or submits to free elections. Communism is tyranny that is bound to fail. Let the loser lose.

New York Times Service

U.S. and Russia Need a Partnership Based on Real Concerns

By Stephen Sestanovich

WASHINGTON — The meager results of this week's lunch-hour summit between President Bill Clinton and President Boris Yeltsin will strengthen skeptics in both countries who say we should stop pretending to be "partners."

Zbigniew Brzezinski has called Russia "irrelevant," and this sneering term enjoys a minor vogue even at the State Department. In Moscow, Anatoli Adamishin, the ambassador to Britain and among the most likely successors to Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, expresses a surprisingly similar view.

Although he has been years ahead of his country's most prominent Western diplomats, Mr. Adamishin now calls on Russia to "step to the sidelines."

There's no need for all-out hostility toward the West, he wrote recently, but for the foreseeable future, Russia will be too weak to be taken seriously by the United States and its allies. Better, then, to stand alone. To date, both governments have rejected the case for disengagement, as they should.

Yet the rhetoric of "partnership" has grown perfunctory, and the reason is simple: neither side has taken the idea seriously enough to give it any real meaning.

As a last resort, advocates of

Russian-American relations are a textbook case of how not to build lasting cooperation between great powers.

It can't be built on charity — in any case, U.S. aid to Russia is too small to affect large decisions. Nor can it be built on blackmail — on fear of what the Russians might do if the United States doesn't stay on good terms with them.

Earlier this year, Russian and American diplomats thought they might give the relationship a boost by reaching a special "understanding" between Russia and NATO.

But the Russians reject anything that legitimizes NATO expansion, and the Americans fear a Russian *droit de regard* over Eastern Europe. Right now, neither side can gain from grand but empty agreements.

The idea of sending Russian and American peacekeepers to Bosnia is also turning out to be a loser. Cooperating on a job that neither side's military really wants to do, and that has little support in either country, may sink relations, not salvage them.

Today, the problem is how to deal with new nuclear powers, especially so-called rogue states with access to high technology.

To deal with this emerging threat, both former superpowers are going to take a greater interest in building defenses against ballistic missiles.

They can do so without threatening each other. And in fact, their common interest is strong

enough to justify joint research and development.

But this won't happen automatically: If Russian-American relations worsen, it will be easy to ignite the Star Wars controversies of a decade ago, and the whole effort could bog down.

Across the board, America's ability to deal with future security problems will be weakened if it has to cope simultaneously with problems of the past. Yet U.S. policies rarely recognize this fact.

Vast amounts of geopolitical pundit-time go into thinking about how to deal with the looming emergence of China as a military and economic colossus. But Russian-American relations, strangely, are almost never treated as part of the equation.

This is a mistake. Isn't it obvious that, if there were ever a need to organize a broad coalition to contain China, Russia's orientation would play off in the future or remain a matter of rhetoric?

For that matter, isn't it likely that such a coalition would be needed if China saw that the other major powers enjoyed good relations that would make it easy for them to unite?

In other regions, Moscow will play a crucial role in determining the success or failure of American diplomacy.

Russia has, in fact, helped to strengthen Ukraine, which many regard as a fulcrum of peace and security in Eastern Europe. Its policy toward Iran, in contrast, is damaging.

But whether America agrees or disagrees with Russian policy is not the issue. It's how to advance U.S. interests. It will be far harder to offer meaningful support for Ukraine if Russian-American relations deteriorate.

By the same token, it will be far easier to turn off Moscow's nuclear deliveries to Iran if relations improve.

In the shadow of the Russian-American dispute over NATO expansion, it may seem hopeless to address the problems sketchily here. But they should not be left for later. What both sides need now is help in gauging the real costs of a break over NATO. They need a clearer sense of whether partnership will pay off in the future or remain a matter of rhetoric.

Not finding out means accepting "irrelevance," and paying its price.

The writer is vice president for Russian and Eurasian affairs at the Carnegie Endowment. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

Thailand's King Enters Rough-and-Tumble World of Politics

By Philip Bowring

BANGKOK — Just three months after an election that was supposed to settle the matter of who would be prime minister, Bangkok is abuzz with talk that Banharn Silpa-archa's term at the top might be unusually brief.

It centers on Mr. Banharn's fragile hold over his coalition and the ambitions of Chaovalit Yongchayai, defense minister and head of the second-largest party in the coalition.

When Mr. Banharn was appointed, the king lectured him on the need for honesty and responsibility in government. The value of democracy, in principle the most advanced system of government, said the king, "depends on the practitioners." He suggested that democracy, though de-

sirable, would survive in Thailand only given an honest and effective government.

The implied criticism was directed not so much at Mr. Banharn himself as at some other provincial politicians — with repeated links to drug-running and gangsterism — in the new Parliament. It also aimed at the corruption endemic in a system where some ministers need to recoup the huge cost of elections.

In subsequent speeches, the king lambasted ministers from rival coalition parties for squabbling over, rather than working to

help solve, Bangkok's traffic chaos. Then, in September, he again directly criticized administration failures — this time for not providing adequate flood protection around Bangkok, and for offering compensation to flood victims rather than spending money on flood prevention.

The last criticism was delivered only a week after the king, 67, left the hospital after coronary surgery, his second hospitalization for angioplasty treatment this year.

Different interpretations could be put on this confluence of developments — the king's interventions and his heart problems.

The king in the past has shown a commitment to democratic aspirations while remaining aware of other forces and priorities. In particular, he has acted as the "stabilizer" of last resort in periods of civilian-military confrontation. Royal expression of views on less critical matters is surprising and unnerving to a new, elected government, but should help it keep on the straight and narrow.

There is an evident lack of cohesion in the government, and fierce, often unfriendly, criticisms of it in the media reflect the attitude of a Bangkok establishment that has never liked the thought of Mr. Banharn, a rough and ready — but very effective — provincial businessman as prime minister.

The king's interventions are seen primarily as attempts to im-

Talk Shows: Modern Day Big Tops

By Maureen Dowd

WASHINGTON — Emboldened by their success in getting Time Warner to dump gangsta rap, William Bennett and Senator Joseph Lieberman, Democrat of Connecticut, are going after America's true heart of darkness: daytime TV talk shows.

"How about a Bronx cheer?" Mr. Bennett says in his office.

"Let's say this stinks and let's try to get this garbage off the air. We've forgotten that civilization depends on keeping some of this stuff under wraps. These shows talk about sex and violence and sleeping around, with topics like 'Enlarge your breasts' or 'I'm outta here.' This is a force of decomposition. This is a tropism toward the toilet. It's not good."

Mr. Bennett would like society to resume what he calls constructive hypocrisy. "People should act better than they are. You say, 'Good morning, Miss Jones, how are you?' rather than 'Holy smokes, Miss Jones, I'm coming to get you.'

Of course, trying to rid the world of Ricki Lake, Sally Jessy Raphael, Jerry Springer, Geraldine and a pack of imitators is a tougher proposition than pressuring one guilt-ridden corporation.

Attacking the entertainment of a therapeutic culture is a way of attacking its values: publicity over achievement, revelation over restraint, honesty over decency, victimhood over personal responsibility, confrontation over civility, psychology over morality.

Confession began in a small dark box

OPINION/LETTERS

Blacks Just Cannot Wait For Perfect Leadership

By William Raspberry

WAshington — You cannot separate the message from the messenger.

You've heard it often enough in the days leading up to the Million Man March and in the aftermath of that image-changing event. You heard it from critics of the march, as an explanation of their opposition. You heard it from the likes of Ben Chavis, late of the NAACP, arguing that participation in the event was, willy-nilly, an endorsement of the man who called it: the race-baiting anti-Semitic Nation of Islam minister, Louis Farrakhan.

You cannot separate the message from the messenger. I've probably said it myself. But is it true? Can it be that the truth lies the other way — that you have to separate the message from the messenger?

These are idle questions only to those among us who are content to separate the world into black folk and enemies. For the rest of us, who will not let our friendships and alliances be limited by race, the questions are agonizing.

Black Americans — and young black men in particular — are beset with problems whose solution requires strong and consistent leadership. And that leadership hasn't been there. It isn't that the traditional leadership organizations — the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the church — haven't tried. They simply have not had the ability to reach a significant number of the young people most in need of being reached. The call to responsible behavior, to academic exertion and nonviolence, when it comes from the traditional voices, may sound like a call to "wimp out" — if it is heard at all. The leadership vacuum has been almost palpable.

It is into that vacuum that Mr. Farrakhan now comes, with his hollowness unpronounced but with his effectiveness unquestioned. (One measure of the vacuum is that even after the fact we don't know how to capture and build on the obvious power and goodwill generated by the march.) If you believe, as I do, that the leadership he perhaps brings is necessary and possibly life-saving for a generation of our children, you have a hard time knowing how to respond to friends and allies who tell you that you have to renounce the only leadership that is out there.

You tell them of the good things

the Nation of Islam has been able to accomplish — of its peculiar facility for transforming criminals and thugs into bow tie-wearing gentlemen, of their success in instilling pride in young men who never had much of it, of their ability to clean up open-air drug markets by the sheer force of their unarmed presence — and they tell you that Mussolini made Italy's trains run on time.

In other words, you shouldn't separate the message of personal transformation from the messenger who, too often, spews hatred.

Aren't we being told, in fact, that we should wait for perfect leadership — and at a time when our children's need for leadership is desperate and when no paragon is on the horizon?

If the Urban League's Hugh Price had called a competing march last week, I would have supported it without a qualm. If Nelson Mandela had sounded the call to repentance and atonement, the Mall wouldn't have been big enough to hold the crowd.

But America's black men were not asked to choose between Mr. Farrakhan's march and Mr. Mandela's. The choice was Mr. Farrakhan's or nothing — and nothing just won't do.

We have thousands of young men, already in trouble or on the verge, who are starving for responsible leadership. Mr. Farrakhan offers a picnic table laden with a number of good dishes and a few foul — even poisonous — ones. Our friends tell us we must tip the table over, lest our children come down with pinhead of the soul.

Cora Masters Barry, a professor of political science and wife of the Washington mayor, notes that Lyndon Johnson was just another Southern politician (with the views then associated with Southern politics) but he was thrust into national leadership.

He grew into the job. She thinks the best way to make Mr. Farrakhan abandon the baggage of his anti-Semitism and racism is to test him with the leadership he craves.

Could acknowledged leadership really induce the chef to clean up his act? It's an interesting idea. Mine is simpler: Until somebody comes forth with a less-flawed banquet for a leadership-starved generation, we might want to put off upending the table and begin teaching our children what is good for them — and what they shouldn't swallow.

Washington Post Writers Group.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Role of the State

In response to "In Poland, Changes Will Stick and Communists Are Pale Pink" (Opinion, Oct. 13), by Flora Lewis:

The writer has accurately assessed the mood in post-Communist Poland but overlooked the impact of the transformations on social policy.

Poles have weathered the storm by successfully implementing the Western-prescribed, bittersweet medicine known as shock therapy. They have managed to bring back from the brink of collapse a planned economy drained by decades of Soviet-led exports. But the side effects of such a large dose of shock with little therapy are still unknown.

What is clear is that radical restructuring of the economy has taken its toll on social services, pensions, health care and education. The role of government is being

redefined. Doctors, teachers and other government employees are deeply dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. There is yet no social policy or safety net in place to protect the population from the nefarious effects of "Wild West" capitalism.

The return of the former Communist аппетити to government in the present context is therefore not surprising. The average citizen perceives political leaders as too eager to please the marketplace at the expense of public welfare.

The fact that left-leaning politicians have gained power at a time of remarkable growth in Poland and elsewhere in central Europe is a clear warning to the West's wise men that a healthy and prosperous economy needs a generous social welfare system as well.

The challenge faced by central European politicians is to create nei-

ther costly and debt-laden welfare states, nor unbridled economies driven by profit margins alone. The role of the state in fostering both economic prosperity and social justice in the coming millennium may well be determined in the crucible of change that is Central Europe.

MICHAEL WERBOWSKI

Prague

Foibles Corrected

Maureen Dowd ("A Pretty Picture Rebuts a Sordid Life" Opinion, Oct. 3) misquotes Woody Allen's dictum in her human foibles. What he said in the self-interview in "Husbands and Wives" was: "The heart does not know from logic." This does not dilute her thesis that Mr. Allen has lost his moral compass, but maybe it helps put it in perspective.

HARVEY A. LEVE

Jakarta

In the No-Shame Contest, Tobacco Execs Take First

By Richard Cohen

NEW YORK — A parochial high school here held a dance recently to severely limit cigarette advertising, ban vending machine sales, prohibit the sponsorship of sporting or entertainment events by brand names of cigarettes (although not by the company itself) and declare cigarettes a drug-delivery device.

None of this is needed, the tobacco industry says. It has declared its advertising ineffective, although for some reason it will persist in spending massively on advertising campaigns. "We all agree we must do something to keep cigarettes out of the hands of children under the age of 18," the newspaper ad says.

"But the answer isn't more bureaucracy." It's teaching "young people how to resist peer pressure."

Scot not, you cynics out there. The industry has a point. Something akin to peer pressure must explain why few black kids smoke while many white ones do — only 5 percent of black high school seniors versus 23 percent of their white counterparts. Black role models — entertainment figures, sports stars — are rarely seen smoking. White movie stars, especially young ones, are often photographed with a cigarette. These folks are doing a lot of damage. Underage smoking is up — 30 percent since 1991 among eighth graders alone.

But the newspaper ads are doing some damage of their own. They are cynical attempts to exploit anti-government sentiment and they make no sense whatsoever. Would the tobacco lobby argue that the government shouldn't regulate the sale and advertising of liquor? A better question: If the government didn't regulate the industry, would it regulate itself?

Granted that advertising is not the sole reason kids take up smoking, but as a one-time smoker (ah, yes, a zealot like all converts), I can testify to the validating power of advertising. It is a form of peer pressure. It may well be where peer pressure originates. At least that is the hope behind any advertising campaign.

The cigarette industry has suddenly become suspiciously ACLUish. But its reasons, I suspect, have more to do with making a buck than with civil liberties. It is attempting to make smoking the equivalent of a constitutional right — free speech, assembly and lighting up. As a quitter, I reject that argument. As a cause, it's not worth dying for.

Washington Post Writers Group.

BOOKS

THE VERY BEST MEN:
Four Who Dared — The Early Years of the CIA
By Evan Thomas. 448 pages. \$27.50. Simon & Schuster.

Reviewed by David Wise

THERE is one small but telling anecdote near the end of Evan Thomas's wonderful book that explains the Bay of Pigs and a lot of other CIA debacles. Tracy Barnes — tall, blond, and dashing, a character out of F. Scott Fitzgerald and one of the architects of the CIA's failed invasion of Cuba — had taken his grandchildren to an island in Narragansett Bay for a Fourth of July picnic. The fog rolled in and Barnes loaded everyone into the boat. He hit the throttle and gave his wife, Janet, who was sitting in the stern, a big A-OK sign. She beamed. But at the wheel, a guest asked nervously, "Do you know where you're going?" Barnes strung. "No, keep a watch out," he replied. The boat "roared off in the wrong direction and almost ran into a warship at Quonset Point Naval Base."

Thomas has produced a jewel of a book. "The Very Best Men" is a road map to un-

derstanding what went on inside the CIA during the height of the Cold War. As a way to the clandestine world, Thomas has chosen to detail the lives and fortunes of four men who ran the agency's covert operations during its most free-wheeling era in the 1950s and 1960s. The target was the Soviet Union; the CIA men sincerely, if grandiosely, felt that the survival of the Free World depended on them.

Better than most, Thomas has grasped the fact that the roots of power in Washington were to be found as much in the salons of Georgetown, where Richard Bissell and Frank Wisner mingled with the journalists Joe Alsop and Alfred Friendly, as behind the locked doors of the CIA. To know these men, one has to understand their social and educational roots; in many ways Scroll and Key, a Yale secret society, was as important as cloak and dagger.

Born to privilege, they all seemed to have gone to Groton and Yale or the equivalent, where they acquired social graces, arrogance and an enormous self-confidence which often greatly exceeded their competence. It was a mismatch between style and performance

• Michel Soyer, Paris social events organizer, is reading "Les Egeries Russes" by Gontcharoff-Saint-Bris and Vladimir Fedorovski.

"In this beautiful book I find the romance and glamour of the Russian courts. Their role model was Louis XIV, French was spoken because it was the fashionable language and Veuve Clicquot the chic champagne."

(Margaret Kemp, IHT)

that proved, in many cases, a sure recipe for disaster for themselves and the United States.

Barnes and Bissell, under Wisner's supervision, overthrew the leftist government of Guatemala in 1954. Barnes got a medal for it. But the ironically named "Operation Success" paved the way for four decades of military dictatorship, brutal repression and torture in that country.

Bissell, a nerd at Yale, was universally regarded as brilliant. He conceived of the U-2 spy plane, an enormous success that ended in disaster when one was shot down in 1960. He also was the father of the Bay of Pigs, which never had a chance of toppling Fidel Castro, regardless of the subsequent debate over air cover and President Kennedy's role.

Frank Wisner's messianic goal was to "roll back" the Iron Curtain. His agents, parachuted into the Soviet Union, were all captured and executed. Wisner committed suicide in 1965.

Evan Thomas, the Washington bureau chief for Newsweek and the co-author or author of two previous books, was given extraordinary access by the CIA to a number of the previously secret histories of its

operations. In turn, he had to sign a "secrecy agreement," the precise nature of which is not explained. Presumably, this gave the CIA the right to review at least those portions of the manuscript based on its secret files. Thomas owed it to the reader to spell out clearly whether the agency had the right of prepublication review, but he does not do so, an unfortunate omission in an otherwise admirable work.

Still, the intelligence agency may be kicking itself for having opened up its secret files. For Thomas, whatever the CIA's expectations, has not glorified these buccaneers of the Cold War. He captures their humanity and succeeds in making them real, often sympathetic and sometimes likable. But he also portrays their foibles, their patrician egotism, the hare-brained quality of many of their schemes, and their hopelessly quixotic natures. Indeed, on Thomas's canvas, the CIA's Brahmins appear almost as children who never grew up, well-educated Boy Scouts attempting to divert the river of history with toothpicks.

David Wise, the author of "Nightmover," a book about the Aldrich Ames spy case, wrote this for The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

IT was a tense finish to qualifying play at the Maribor World Championships in Beijing earlier this month. Only three of four American teams survived.

The diagrammed deal from the 11th qualifying round caused considerable excitement. A few North-South pairs reached six spades, which was unbeatable, but six hearts by North was the most popular contract, sometimes doubled.

Three East players, Philip Gue of Australia, Marcelo Villegas of Argentina and Andrea Rauscheid of Germany, were inspired to lead the spade ace followed by another spade to give West a ruff.

The Dutch North blasted a six-heart bid at his first opportunity, and East for the Cayne team had no clue to the winning opening lead.

In the replay, as shown, the Dutch West opened two no-trump, showing moderate values with length in the minor suits.

Mike Passel as North then embarked on an orgy of minor-

NORTH
♦ K Q 7 5
♥ A K J 9 8 7 6 5
♦ A
♣ —
WEST(D)
♦ J
♥ 7 6
♦ Q 10 8 6 5 3
♣ K Q 9 7 2
EAST
♦ A 2
♥ 5 4
♦ 10 9 5 2
♣ 10 8 6 5 4
SOUTH
♦ 10 8 6 4 3
♥ 8 3
♦ 9 3 7 4
♣ 10 7 3
Hand
West led the spade jack.

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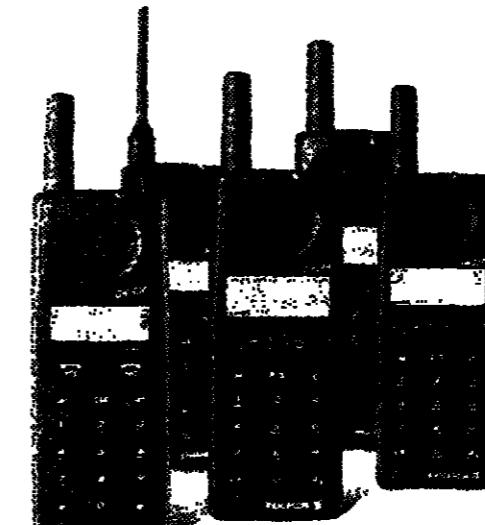
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THE WORLD'S DAIRY NEWSPAPER

**Ericsson Mobile Phone
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"It's about communication between people.
The rest is technology"

Ericsson wishes to thank all the readers who participated in the competition.

The correct answers to the three competition questions are as follows:

- Which Ericsson GSM mobile phone was awarded "Mobile phone of the year in 1995" by Cellnet? Answer: GH 337
- Which is the Ericsson digital switching system that serves over 100 countries, over 100 million lines and 26 million users of mobile phones? Answer: AXE
- Ericsson pioneered the world's first DECT-based business cordless telephone system. What is it called? Answer: FREESET

ERICSSON

I S U R E

It's Green, New and High-Tech

Swiss Note Pays Homage to Artist

By Mavis Guinard

BERN — It can only buy 17½ cups of coffee today but the new 50 Swiss franc banknote is rich, high-tech and fun. Rich in detail, fun to inspect. It was issued on Oct. 3 and bears for the first time on a Swiss note the portrait of a woman, Sophie Taeuber-Arp.

Pioneer of abstract art, ardent member of the Dada movement, professor of applied arts, Taeuber roamed creatively from puppets to painting, from beaded purses to murals, from dancing to avant-garde publications, never giving up, love for geometric figures, lines and pure color or losing her sense of humor. Functional, constructivist, minimalist are adjectives that sum up her work and her influence.

Taeuber is on the first of a new series of bills honoring six Swiss writers and artists. Next will come the architect Le Corbusier (10 francs), followed by the composer Arthur Honegger (20 francs), the sculptor Alberto Giacometti (100 francs), the writer Charles Ferdinand Ramuz (200 francs, a new denomination) and the art historian Jakob Burckhardt (1,000 francs). From now until the fall of 1996, the bills will be issued every 6 months.

Slightly smaller than the previous one, the greenish bill would delight Taeuber's bent for mixing fun with function. And the bill has built-in gimmicks to thwart would-be counterfeitors.

Marcus Lusser, chairman of the Swiss National Bank's board, explained: "The authorized issuers of banknotes are engaged in a constant race with counterfeitors. They are forced to provide banknotes with the latest security features at ever shorter intervals."

The Swiss National Bank announced it is confident that with this new series it is able to offer the public an innovative, handy and secure medium for cash payments."

By law, Swiss currency is backed up to 40 percent by gold held in the Swiss National Bank, and 250 million Swiss banknotes worth 27 billion to 30 billion francs are in circulation. Every year the Swiss National Bank exchanges about a third — 80 million fresh notes for old.

THE bank took eight years to study all aspects of the new series. It set up a competition with a jury appointed by the Federal Office of Cultural Affairs who invited submissions. Jörg Zintzmeier, who specialized in corporate identity for BMW, was picked in 1991. The Zurich designer had to produce a fully printed mockup.

"Everything is a first in this banknote," says Zintzmeier. "Before, bills were done from idea to engraving by a single artist. I did the new note with the help of two graphic designers and a six-man team at the printing company, Orell-Füssli Graphics. As design manager, I had to bring this all together, motivate people, push my aesthetic decisions within very tight guidelines. The hardest was to incorporate a maximum of security features."

Five Security Features of the New Swiss Banknote

1 The magic number. The number 50 is printed in a shimmering, transparent color. It appears and disappears depending on the angle light reflects off the surface.

2 The colored number. The number 50 is clearly visible and has a rough textured surface.

3 The moving number. In the middle of the note the number 50 is printed on silver foil as a Kinogram. This process gives the impression of a moving number when the bill is tilted.

4 The chameleon number. The number changes color depending on how the light falls on the bill.

5 The glittering number. The number is metal-coated and partially covered in ink. When the bill is moved the number has a silvery glitter.



The result is the world's first computer-designed banknote. Zintzmeier came up with more than 20 security features — the exact number is a Swiss National Bank secret — scattered among 2.5 billion image points. About five are easy to check, finding more is the Swiss game of the year.

You first notice a dark green colored number 50; it leaves marks when rubbed on paper. Around two portraits of Taeuber, there are more numbers. Zintzmeier has marked the left side of the bill from A to H. At A, high on the bill, tilt the note left to right, the magic number appears and disappears to reveal a smiling, young Sophie Taeuber in her workshop. They say there is a watermark under her collar, far too subtle for me.

Tilt some more and the number on the center fold shifts across two bars, silver like the Swiss crosses and the bank logo right below. To spot the faint white outlines of another 50 beside them, hunt up a magnifying lens. Or proceed to the chameleon number printed on Taeuber's hat with an optically variable ink that veers from forest green to violet. Under ultraviolet light you may detect the number 50 on the hat brim, dark on one side, fluorescent on the other. At G, a metal coated number partly covered with ink gives a silvery blush to Taeuber's cheek. To find the 50 at H, lift the bill to eye

level. Besides numbers, there are more tricks. Blind people can identify the denomination by fingerling the embossed triangle under Taeuber's chin. But you'll need a powerful lens and an inkling of Romansch to decipher Sophie Taeuber's bio in the thumbnail orange square above her hat-band.

Born in Davos in 1889, she grew up in Appenzell, acquiring from childhood the skills of embroidery and weaving. After applied art studies in Munich, she returned to Zurich to teach in the School of Applied Arts and met other artists.

On the back of the banknote, Zintzmeier has made a montage of Taeuber's art.

Sophie Taeuber-Arp died at age 54 in 1943. This unexpectedly added to the cost of the new banknote. Since 1993, copyright in Switzerland lasts 70 years after the death of artist or author.

The Swiss rights collection agency Pro Litteris claimed 100,000 francs for the reproduction of Sophie Taeuber-Arp's works and obtained it after a year of negotiations with the Swiss National Bank. In their gazette Pro Litteris said: "This is the first time rights are paid for a banknote."

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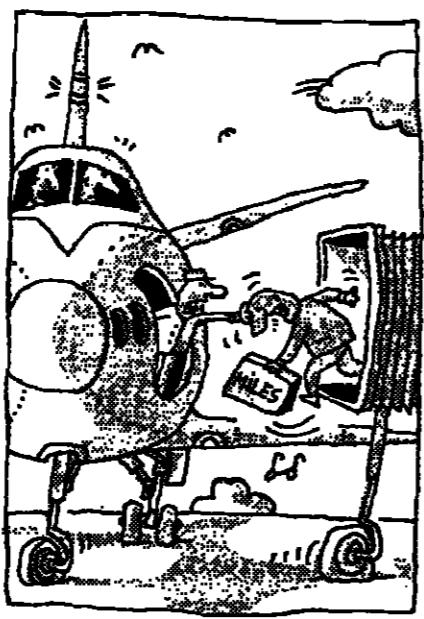
The Swiss rights collection agency Pro Litteris claimed 10

FLASH

Getting Most Out of Your Mileage

By Roger Collis
International Herald Tribune

YOU'VE spent thousands of dollars and heaven knows how much management time piling up frequent-flier miles. You thought you'd played your miles right by routing yourself from New York to London via Anchorage; charging everything to your credit card and staying in inconvenient hotels for the sake of triple points. And now that the time has come to redeem those hard-earned miles for a dream vacation with your family, the airline will



once or twice a week, especially 60 days or closer to the time you want to fly.

* Try booking different routes, because nonstop flights tend to fill up faster; suggest departure from another city or consider flying into one city and back from another if you can get seats that way (an "open-jaws" ticket).

* Most airlines waive blackout dates if you redeem with double the miles required for a normal ticket. But it may be the only way to go.

* Consider buying a ticket and using your miles for an upgrade to a premium class ticket with a firm reservation. (Not all FFPs allow upgrades — especially from an excursion fare — a key factor when choosing a program). Between North America and Europe, upgrades from economy excursion fares typically require 40,000 miles. Even though the value of mileage required for an upgrade can exceed the cost of an economy ticket, it may be the most practical way to trade mileage for comfort — indeed an assured seat. It may be worthwhile buying a more expensive ticket in order to use an upgrade.

* Flying long-haul, don't spend miles on an upgrade from economy to first — just upgrade to business class. Few airlines outside North America allow you to upgrade with FFP miles. And not all upgrades work the same way. What really counts in a program is the ability to upgrade from any published fare.

* Many airlines refuse to give mileage credit on consolidator tickets, or allow you to use them for upgrades. Given that such tickets can save you around 40 percent on published first or business class fares, this may be an acceptable trade-off. But it's worth asking your travel agent for a more expensive consolidator ticket that does allow you to earn and redeem mileage.

* A general rule: redeem FFP miles for expensive tickets, not cheap ones. If all strategies fail, you may be better off buying a cheap ticket for your vacation and saving your mileage for another trip. (Figure that each FFP mile is worth two cents.) Or use your miles to cover hotels, car-rental, and other services. Staying free at a resort hotel could save you more than if you had redeemed those miles for an award flight. Or else trade miles for adventure trips on hot-air balloons or merchandise that you could pick up cheaper at a discount store. (JAL, for example offers a Royal Copenhagen porcelain coffee set, or a Nikon F-801 camera in exchange for 100,000 miles.)

The Official Flyer Guidebook, price \$17.95 (including p&p) from Inside Flyer, 4715-C Town Center Drive, Colorado Springs, Colorado 80916-4709, or Frequent Flyer Services, 24/28 The Code Centre, 189 Münster Road, London SW6 6AW. Tel: (171) 385-6412. Fax: (171) 386-9421.

if everybody cashed in their miles at the same time. According to Petersen, there are about 1.3 trillion miles floating around the system.

Not that Armageddon is imminent. Pundits reckon that, out of 644 billion miles earned in 1994, only 278.6 billion were redeemed. According to the OAG Business Lifestyle Survey 1994 of European frequent travelers, although 97 percent of respondents say they intend to redeem their miles, only half of them have done so.

THE best guide to keeping track of FFP miles is Petersen's Official Flyer Guidebook, detailed information on more than 70 airline, hotel, car rental and card programs worldwide.

There is a chapter on redeeming miles and points along with pages of charts on redemption levels and blackout periods. The updated 1996 (fourth edition) is due out in January.

Here are some ways to avoid frustration when you come to redeem FFP miles:

* Plan your trip as far ahead as possible as award seats fill up quickly, especially in first and business class. Award seats on most airlines can be ticketed 320 days in advance. Have several dates and times in mind when you call to book your flight. You have the best chance of redeeming your award if you fly midweek (Tuesday or Wednesday are best) and avoid major holiday times.

* If seats are not available, ask to be put on the waiting list. Check often for cancellations by calling as early in the morning as possible, when newly available seats are posted to airline computers. Call the airline

Airlines are raising the hurdles because of the meteoric rise in FFP membership, with more than 150 million people signed up worldwide, and the contingent liability

AT A GLANCE: GOOD TRAVEL DEALS



Carrier/Hotel	Location	Deal
ALL NIPPON AIRWAYS	Worldwide	Program A frequent-flier members can earn and redeem miles on British Airways, USAir, USAir Express and USAir Shuttle.
ALOHA AIRLINES	Hawaii	A seven-day air pass for \$199 allows unlimited travel on certain flights within Hawaii (except Dec. 16 to Jan. 5.)
AMERICAN AIRLINES	London to United States	Advantage members earn 25,000 bonus miles on round-trip, full-fare first- or business-class tickets from London to New York (JFK), Chicago or Boston. Only one bonus per member. For travel by Dec. 31.
CATHAY PACIFIC	Worldwide	Passenger members traveling first or business class on any three Cathay flights from Oct. 15 to Dec. 15 earn 40,000 bonus kilometers.
HILTON	Bangkok	Two-night package for \$236 includes city view room, American breakfast, welcome drink and fruit basket and use of fitness center. Until Dec. 31.
INTER-CONTINENTAL	Seoul	"Deluxe" junior double suite and breakfast for \$215. Until Dec. 31.
KLM/AIR UK	Hong Kong to Europe	Round-trip economy fare 9,999 Hong Kong dollars (\$1,300) allows up to six stopovers in Europe. Choice includes Amsterdam, London, Copenhagen, Edinburgh, Madrid, Frankfurt, Milan, Nice, Paris, Zurich. Until Dec. 15.
THE LODGE AT VAIL	Colorado	"Mini Escape" ski program for \$1,760-\$2,172 includes accommodation for four nights, breakfast, one dinner, ski tune-up, four-day lift pass, and service and taxes. From Jan. 2 to Feb. 17.
THE MANILA HOTEL	Manila	Suites at 50 percent off regular rates plus late check-out. Until Dec. 31.
OLD COURSE HOTEL	St. Andrews, Scotland	Golf break for £160 (\$250) per person per night (double occupancy) include breakfast, dinner, and one round of golf on the new 18-hole Duke's Course at Craigton Park. Until Oct. 31.
THE PIERRE	New York	Weekend rates (Friday and Saturday) of \$450 per room per night including continental breakfast. From Nov. 19-26 and Dec. 17-Jan. 7 (except Dec. 31).
SHERATON WALKER HILL	Seoul	"Deluxe" or "executive" rooms at \$150 a night. Until Dec. 31.
UNITED AIRLINES	London to New York	Special business-class fare of £888 one-way from Heathrow to JFK and Newark saves 20 percent on normal price. First and business passengers get free limos. Mileage Plus members earn 25,000 bonus miles on the round-trip. Until Dec. 31.
WALDORF-ASTORIA	New York	Weekend rate of \$229 per night for double room: suite is \$75 extra. Until Dec. 31.
WESTIN	Tokyo	"Superior" doubles from 22,000 yen (\$220) per night, including American breakfast, tax and service.

Although the IHT carefully checks these offers, please be forewarned that some travel agents may be unaware of them, or unable to book them.

Navigating by the stars across Germany:

AMSTERDAM ANTALYA BRUSSELS COLOGNE DORTMUND DÜSSELDORF HEIDELBERG
HAMBURG KARLSRUHE KIEL LUDWIGSBURG MÜNCHEN STUTTGART
VIENNA PRAGUE MOSCOW LIPZIG
VIENNA PRAGUE MOSCOW LIPZIG
KARLSRUHE KIEL LUDWIGSBURG MÜNCHEN STUTTGART

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Sweden	155-00-11
United Kingdom	00-800-12277

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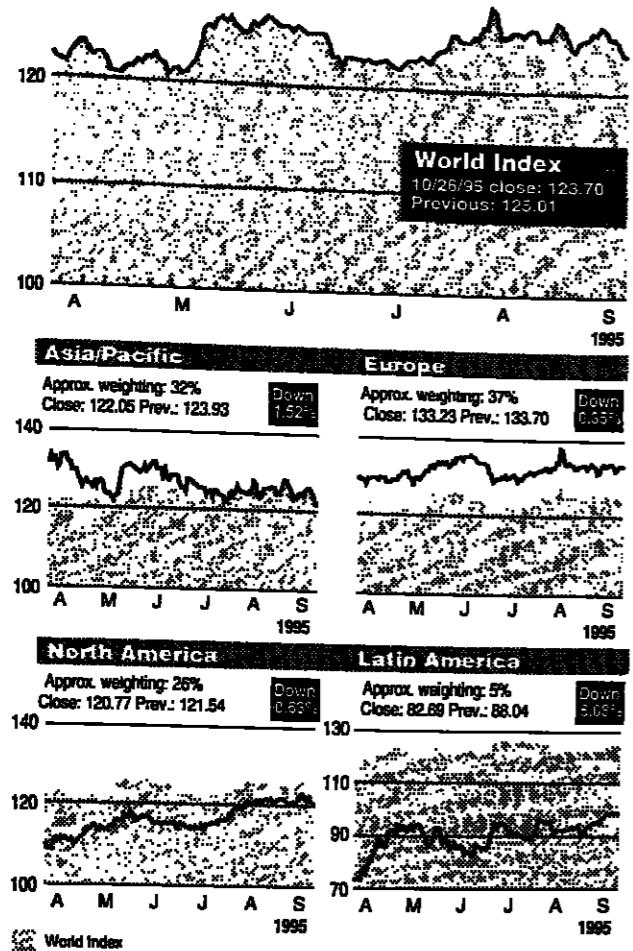
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BUSINESS / FINANCE

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1995

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THE TRIB INDEX: 123.70
Down 1.05%
International Herald Tribune World Stock Index ©, composed of
280 internationally investable stocks from 25 countries, compiled
by Bloomberg Business News. Jan. 1, 1992 = 100.
130



The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in Tokyo, New York, London, and Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and Venezuela. For Tokyo, New York, London and London, the index is composed of the top 20 issues in terms of market capitalization, otherwise the ten top stocks are tracked.

Industrial Sectors			
Ths. class	Prev. close	% change	Ths. close
Energy	122.85	124.26	-1.13
Utilities	123.71	125.65	-1.54
Finance	114.55	116.28	-1.49
Services	114.49	115.92	-1.23

For more information about the index, a booklet is available free of charge.
Write to Trib Index, 181 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, France.
© International Herald Tribune

America, the Beautiful Economy Light State Spending Looks Good From Abroad

By John M. Berry
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — From the perspective of other industrial nations, the current battle in the United States over how and when to balance the government's budget, cut taxes and reduce regulation of businesses has a certain otherworldly quality to it.

The argument that government spending and taxes must be cut to stimulate economic growth rings strangely to foreign ears, because the United States currently has the most balanced economy, the sec-

ond-lowest unemployment rate and the best growth prospects among the industrial nations, according to many international economists.

But the key point for many

foreign policymakers and analysts trying to follow the debate is that federal, state and local governments in the United States already spend a smaller share of national income than governments in any other industrial nation.

Among industrial nations, only three — the United States, Japan and Australia — will spend less than 40 percent of their gross domestic products this year, according to estimates by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The Amer-

Boeing Lands Strong Profit And Saudi Deal

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SEATTLE — Boeing Co. said Thursday that third-quarter earnings rose 22 percent, and it confirmed that Saudi Arabia had signed a contract awarding \$6 billion in orders to it and McDonnell Douglas Corp.

But the company warned that Thursday that a three-week-old strike by unionized machinists would delay aircraft deliveries and lead to lower earnings in the fourth quarter.

Net income in the third period rose to \$225 million, or 66 cents a share, from \$185 million, or 54 cents, a year earlier.

Revenue rose 13 percent, to \$4.38 billion.

Boeing attributed the stronger-than-expected earnings to reduced research-and-development spending and a reduced tax rate.

A strike by about 34,000 members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers will lead to a "substantial number of delayed deliveries," hurting fourth-quarter results, said Frank Shrontz, Boeing's chairman.

The company is seeking to negotiate a settlement of the strike, which started Oct. 5. Mr. Shrontz said.

The strike's effects already are felt by Boeing and its customers. UAL Corp. said Wednesday that the strike would delay delivery of a 777 jetliner scheduled to arrive this month.

Meanwhile in Washington, Saudi Arabia signed a contract with Boeing and McDonnell Douglas to buy 61 passenger planes.

Boeing is expected to get about \$4 billion to produce 23 B-777s and five B-747s for Saudi Arabia. McDonnell Douglas is expected to receive about \$2 billion for 29 MD-90s and four MD-11s. The com-

panies are expected to begin delivery in 1997.

The chief executives of both companies and the Saudi officials met with President Bill Clinton on Thursday to discuss details of the transaction, which the government helped craft.

Boeing and McDonnell Douglas won the contract in February 1994 after an intense competition with Airbus Industrie, the European consortium.

(AP, Bloomberg, AFP)

Steady Outlook For Fed Policy Punishes Stocks

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — U.S. stocks and bonds plummeted on Thursday as concern grew that the Federal Reserve Board would not lower interest rates soon and corporate earnings growth might slow.

At one point, the Dow Jones industrial average lost 85.99 points, though it recovered part of that loss to close at 4,703.82, down 49.86 points, or 1 percent.

It was the market's fourth decline in five days, made worse by four rounds of computer-guided sell orders.

The catalyst for the slump was a Commerce Department report that orders for big-ticket goods surged 3 percent in September, a sign of fasteconomic growth that might dissuade the Fed from cutting rates.

"The durable-goods number led to a feeling we're not going to get an interest rate cut anytime soon," said Robert Freedman, investment officer at John

See MART, Page 16

Philips Profit Below Expectations

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

EINDHOVEN, Netherlands — Philips Electronics N.V. said Thursday its profit grew 2 percent in the third quarter on a 8 percent jump in sales led by computer chips, but the results were below market expectations.

Philips earned 539 million guilders (\$344.8 million), in the quarter that ended Sept. 30. That was up from 530 million guilders in the like quarter a year ago.

Sales were 15.32 billion guilders, up from 14.19 billion guilders.

The company's consumer-electronics division did not perform well, however, and profit there fell to 8 million guilders from 114 million a year ago. That spurred a sell-off in the company's shares, which tumbled 8.20 guilders, to 60.10 in Amsterdam.

In New York, the company's American depositary receipts, which are equal to one common

share, fell \$5.375, to \$36.50.

"What you see is one-way traffic, from the U.S. to here," said Agathon van Hilst, an analyst with Dutch brokerage house Amstelgeld, referring to the U.S. investors who sold their shares. "And it's happening with brute violence."

In the company's semiconductors and components division, revenue was up 29 percent. Lighting sales rose 9 percent.

Philips said it expected the

rate of sales growth and margins in the first nine months of 1995 to be maintained for the rest of the year.

For 1995's first three quarters, Philips' net profit reached 1.86 billion guilders, up from 1.19 billion guilders in the first nine months of 1994.

Year-to-date sales were 44.59 billion guilders, up 7 percent. The strong Dutch guilder reduced sales by 700 million in the first nine months.

(AP, Bloomberg)

Thinking Ahead /Commentary

Japan's Chance to Be a Trade Leader

By Reginald Dale
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Japan now has a unique chance to show that it is capable of the benign international economic leadership, which has long aspired to and which its allies would welcome. Unfortunately, unless Tokyo radically changes its attitude in the next three weeks, it risks proving the opposite.

The imminent test of Japan's political maturity is posed by the annual summit meeting next week of the 18 members of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in Osaka, Japan. The meeting is intended to spur trade liberalization in an area that accounts for about half the world economy.

The meeting should provide an ideal stage for Japan to demonstrate that it is genuinely committed to open markets for trade and investment and that it is ready to lead others in that direction. Instead, Tokyo has tied itself in knots.

As the country in the chair, Japan does not want to be blamed if the talks fail. But Japan is also the country most likely to wreck the talks by insisting on continuing protection for its inefficient but politically powerful farmers.

"The Japanese would rather be anywhere but in the chair, and some of us would rather have them anywhere but in the chair," said William Bodde Jr., APEC's first executive director, now a private consultant in Washington.

Tokyo should show it is genuinely committed to open markets.

Commitment to free trade must be comprehensive, or the whole plan will unravel. Already Prime Minister Paul Keating of Australia, who faces elections in the next few months, is describing the Osaka meeting as APEC's "high noon."

Such rhetoric, as so often in APEC, is overblown. It will be a setback, not the death knell, for APEC if the talks fail. It might even be a useful reality check.

APEC's grandiose plans, hyped for political purposes by President Bill Clinton, among others, have tended to gloss over huge differences in wealth and in political and economic philosophies among the group's disparate members.

None of APEC's big three — the United States, China and Japan — is ready for a big new leap forward toward trade lib-

eralization. With the U.S. presidential elections approaching, Mr. Clinton is not prepared to do battle for free trade, and his position has been weakened by lack of Congressional negotiating authority.

With China's leadership in transition, nobody at the top of the Chinese government wants to seem soft on trade. Beijing is trying to avoid making trade concessions twice over — once in APEC and to join the World Trade Organization.

Meanwhile, Japan is crippled by weak leadership, bureaucratic infighting, an inability to stand up to its rice lobby and the continuing recession.

But Japan can rise to the occasion if it tries. Tokyo should set an example by making clear it is committed to liberalizing its own markets and economy, says Yoichi Funabashi, a Japanese journalist, in a book on Japan's role in APEC.

Many other countries, particularly in Asia, look to Japan as a model. The worst image Japan can present to the world in Osaka is one of a selfish, mercantilist outsider, prey to inefficient special interests.

Japan's markets are not as closed as commonly thought. But if Japan is to achieve its leadership ambitions, it must show that it understands the often justifiable complaints that others have against it.

Recently, to Washington's irritation, Japan has laid claim to the free trade banner in its fight against U.S. demands for managed trade. Now is the time for Tokyo to show it means what it says.

By the time you turn this page,

18 planes will touch down.

33 homes will be built.

1,443,750 stocks will change hands.

And you thought you

had a busy day at work.

CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES

Oct. 26 Eurocurrency Deposits Oct. 26

Cross Rates **Oct. 26** **Eurocurrency Deposits** **Oct. 26**

Source: Reuters, Lloyd's Bank. Rates applicable to interbank deposits of \$1 million minimum (or equivalent).

Key Money Rates **Oct. 26** **British** **Oct. 26**

Source: Reuters, Bloomberg, Merrill Lynch, Bank of Tokyo, Commerzbank, Credit Lyonnais.

Other Dollar Values **Oct. 26** **Gold** **Oct. 26**

Source: Reuters, Bloomberg, Merrill Lynch, Bank of Tokyo, Commerzbank, Credit Lyonnais.

Forward Rates **Oct. 26** **A.M.** **P.M.** **Close**

Source: Reuters, Bloomberg, Merrill Lynch, Bank of Tokyo, Commerzbank, Credit Lyonnais.

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U.S. Health Industry Braces for a New Era

By Milt Freudenheim
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — When an elderly American breaks a hip, the typical hospital stay is just seven days. That is at least three fewer days than was the case a decade ago, before Medicare switched to a flat payment system for each illness or injury.

But while the payment system was meant to cap Medicare spending, it wound up doing the reverse. Since such patients are hardly ready to go home after a week, they are transferred to nursing homes for follow-up care. Medicare pays again, often at \$400 a day, and it may take longer for therapy in the patient's home.

"The government ended up paying at least twice," said Kenneth Abramowitz, a health care securities analyst with Sanford C. Bernstein & Co.

In short, Medicare could not stop being a boon to health care providers, producing often-unexpected opportunities financed by taxpayer dollars. Nursing homes and home-health-care companies that were quick to seize these opportunities fit easily into Medicare's services for the elderly and disabled and became Wall Street favorites.

But now, if the Republican-controlled Congress has its way, it will be time for some of health care's fastest-growing sectors to pay the piper. Over the next seven years, \$270 billion will be squeezed out of projected Medicare payments under bills now in both houses of Congress.

In part, the latest shift is simply a matter of speeding the process of change spurred by managed care and other cost-containment efforts.

"The cuts will accelerate a lot of things that are happening already, because employers have become very cost-conscious," said Richard Scott, chief executive of Columbia-HCA Healthcare Corp., the rapidly growing for-profit hospital chain that controls almost 10 percent of the U.S. hospital business.

But in their overall impact, the proposed changes — like those instituted a decade ago — would repaint the landscape for the \$1 trillion-a-year health care system, producing new peaks and valleys that promise shocks and surprises for patients, investors and employers, not to mention the health-care providers themselves.

Deep spending cuts are certain to produce pain for some providers, analysts say, but new opportunities, both anticipated and unanticipated, for others.

The potential losers, at least in terms of groups, seem obvious. Under the House bill, hospitals would receive almost \$78 billion less in Medicare payments over the next seven years, the home-health-care industry would lose \$17 billion and certain nursing homes about \$10 billion. Home-oxygen suppliers, whose revenue had been growing by 15 percent a year, would also be reined in.

But it is not a level playing field, because providers that have already been adapting to the changing health-care market would be in a position to capitalize on the belt-

A Few Winners, a Raft of Losers

tightening. Hospital chains such as Columbia and Tenet Healthcare Corp. would have opportunities to grow by acquiring weak nonprofit hospitals pushed under by the cutbacks.

The cuts would "just push us to be more aggressive in streamlining the delivery process and accelerating the consolidation of excess facilities and capacity," Mr. Scott said. "It will accelerate our growth."

Columbia, which has 325 hospitals in 36 states and has announced plans to acquire at least 9 more, gets 45 percent of its \$17.5 billion of annual revenue from Medicare.

Wall Street has already been handicapping the prospects of companies throughout the health care industry. In most cases,

Drug companies are not affected by the proposed cuts, but they are lobbying for the chance to raise prices for Medicaid programs for low-income people.

The planned spending cuts still have to clear several legislative hurdles and the threat of a White House veto. The health care industry will be lobbying for changes down to the wire, but some version of stiff cuts seems likely.

Following is a look at the potential impact of the cutbacks, sector by sector:

• Hospitals. Health-care specialists say the most successful hospitals will be those, like Columbia's, that build networks of outpatient clinics, groups of regional physicians, nursing homes and home-health services. As a result, they will be able to offer one-stop shopping to HMOs and big employers.

By contrast, hospitals that try to go it alone will face hard times.

Over the next seven years, \$270 billion will be squeezed out of projected Medicare payments under bills before Congress.

The House bill would permit hospitals and doctor groups to compete with local Medicare health-maintenance organizations by dealing directly with employer groups. These provider-sponsored HMOs might succeed by grabbing customers from the insurance companies, eliminating middlemen. But the new groups could lose if established HMOs retaliated by no longer referring patients to them.

In addition to physician-management companies such as Phycor, "we might see a new little industry to help doctors and hospitals manage the risks by becoming more efficient," said Kimberly Purvis, an Analyst with Donaldson Lufkin & Jenrette Securities Corp.

Mr. Scott said Columbia would consider establishing its own HMOs on a market-by-market basis. In cities such as Nashville, where Columbia is dominant, it has used its power to push for advantageous deals with the HMOs in town, analysts said.

Mr. Scott noted that Medicare rates have not kept pace with inflation since 1993, while payments by employers have actually declined. Even so, Columbia has thrived, he said, by cutting its own costs and increasing the flow of patients into its hospitals and outpatient clinics.

• Health-maintenance organizations.

For HMOs and other health insurers, the Medicare legislation is a mixed bag. The pending legislation encourages beneficiaries to join Medicare HMOs, which are growing fast. But there would be sharp cuts in payments for Medicare HMO patients in

expensive urban markets. Analysts said the rate reductions would hurt Humana Inc., which has a big presence in south Florida, and Pacificare Health Systems Inc. in California, which gets 58 percent of its revenue from Medicare. In New York, Oxford Health Plans Inc. and U.S. Healthcare Inc. have been adding Medicare members, but they are a small part of their businesses.

• Nursing Homes. The outlook for nursing homes is even more complicated. The House version of the legislation "is a nightmare for us," said David R. Banks, chief executive of Beverly Enterprises Inc., which operates 700 nursing homes throughout the country.

The payment squeeze on post-hospital therapy, which the industry calls "subacute care," would affect more than one-fourth of Beverly's revenues, which were \$834.9 million in the quarter ended Sept. 30. "It would push us back into custodial care," where profit margins are much lower, Mr. Banks said.

Nursing homes want Congress to adopt a version of the fixed-rate payment system for hospital care to cover the post-hospital care they provide.

Worried investors have driven down the stock price of nursing-home companies like Integrated Health Services Inc., which runs nursing homes for post-hospital Medicare patients. But Manor Care, a nursing-home chain that gets less than 15 percent of its revenue from Medicare, remains favored.

• Home Care. Home-health-care companies also face many problems. The House legislation cuts \$2.5 billion over the seven years from home oxygen services, which received only \$1.4 billion from Medicare last year. The Senate bill cuts even deeper, \$4.5 billion.

Home oxygen services have grown rapidly as the equipment has improved and the population has aged. With Medicare picking up 60 percent of the bills, companies like Linicare Holdings Inc. and a precursor of Apria Healthcare Group went public in the early 1990s and then used stock to acquire smaller companies.

But profit margins exceeding 30 percent drew the attention of government officials, who argued that Medicare payments were too high. The companies disagree.

The companies' patients are now sending thousands of letters urging members of Congress to soften the blow of the impending payment cuts.

• Laboratories and Equipment Manufacturers. The House bill also clamps down on payments for laboratory tests and medical equipment like wheelchairs. Analysts said this business was important to Apira, Rotech Medical Corp. and American Homepatient Inc.

The bill would cut \$6 billion from projected spending increases for clinical laboratories over the seven years. Lab companies like Laboratory Corp. of America and the Metpath unit of Coming Inc. would also face competition from doctors who would be freed from restrictions on owning and operating labs.

Japanese Automakers Embrace Sport Vehicles Focus Is on the Domestic Market

By Andrew Pollack
New York Times Service

firm in Moorpark, California. Japanese executives confirmed that they essentially did not plan to export the models on display at the show.

What is striking about this year's motor show is that the Japanese companies are paying much more attention to their home market than to planning overseas conquests.

"We can't export so many cars anymore," said Takeo Okusa, a Honda Motor Co. spokesman. "So we have to strengthen our home market. We either create a new segment or take share from others."

That new segment is what the Japanese call recreational vehicles, a category that includes minivans, sport-utility vehicles and station wagons. It is not to be confused with Winnebagos and the like, which is what Americans think of as recreational vehicles.

The recreational vehicles are virtually the only part growing in Japan's generally stagnant market, accounting now for 30 percent of sales. "We think it could reach 40 percent of the Japanese market by the year 2000," said Tadao Takei, executive vice president of Nissan Motor Co.

Still, if Japanese companies begin producing such vehicles for their domestic market, they are bound to seek sales abroad, too. Some analysts have said that it would be foolhardy to discount the Japanese.

Industry specialists had predicted, for instance, that Honda's Odyssey minivan, which has been a big hit in Japan, would be too small for American consumers. But Honda is now selling a respectable 2,500 Odysseys a month in the United States — as many as it can ship.

In a survey by J.D. Power & Associates, the Odyssey was the top-rated 1995 minivan in customer satisfaction, according to David Power 3d, president of the marketing-information company.

It is also possible that the small Japanese vehicles, many of which seem like a cross between a car and a minivan or sport-utility vehicle, will create a whole new category.

"There's no doubt there's a major piece of business emerging in Europe in that category, and potentially a significant market in the next few years," said Alexander Trotman, Ford Motor Co.'s chairman, on Wednesday. Ford, he said, was now considering how to get into that business.

The motor show, which is taking place in Makuhari, east of Tokyo, is not completely about recreational vehicles. Mazda got a lot of attention with its sleek RX-01 concept car, a small sports car with a new rotary engine.

BUDGET: U.S. Economic Woes Don't Look So Bad to Other Industrialized Countries

Continued from Page 15

icnfigure is put at 33.4 percent.

Furthermore, the United States will have a combined government budget deficit of only about 1.8 percent of GDP, the smallest of any industrial country save Norway, which is expected to have a moderate surplus, courtesy of its huge oil revenue.

Analysts at TransAtlantic Futures, a Washington-based economic-consulting firm, asked a number of European government and banking officials at

tending the recent World Bank and International Monetary Fund meetings here what they thought about the U.S. budget and regulatory debate.

"In essence, Europeans are surprised by the hard edge of the current U.S. debate on reforming the economy," the firm told its clients. "While they would not say it out loud, most European finance ministers would probably feel outright ecstasy if they could induce their societies to display the same degree of flexibility and risk-taking that is already the positive hallmark of the

United States."

For instance, a number of those queried pointed to the extremely strong performance of the U.S. stock market as evidence of great confidence in American businesses' ability to prosper.

"The view of investors around the globe, U.S. stocks continue to be attractive because U.S. companies — at least compared to other industrialized countries — have long since thrown off the shackles of regulation in the broadest sense," the firm said. "In many ways, they can actually operate

in a very entrepreneurial fashion."

Certainly the high level of government spending and taxes in Europe is causing problems in many countries there. Unemployment is stubbornly high in many areas partly because the extremely high level of payroll taxes makes employers reluctant to hire.

Sweden's government emitted several years ago on an effort to reduce its spending as a share of GDP — currently the highest of any industrial nation — from around 69 percent to the European average of 50 per-

cent. So far it has not had a great deal of luck.

The difficulties encountered in Europe in trying to trim government spending is another reason for the envious way in which policymakers there are viewing the United States these days. TransAtlantic Futures found.

"Many of these voices readily admit that they are amazed, if not completely perplexed, by the apparent ability of this country not to encounter severe social unrest... were the same in Europe, there would be national strikes, to say the least," the firm said.

DEBT: Default Fears Grow

Continued from Page 15

government may be about to rise sharply.

Many in Washington and

Wall Street say weary that they

have seen all this before. They

have. Time after time, Congress

has threatened to hold an in-

crease in the debt limit hostage

— preventing the government

from raising money if needs both

to operate and to pay off Treas-

sury bonds — unless it gets a

way on the budget. Democrats

have made the threats in years

past, and so have Republicans.

After predictable histrionics, it has always ended without disas-

ter. But this time, a growing num-

ber of Democrats and Re-

publicans say, an overreliance

on history could be misleading.

The freshman and sopho-

more among House Republi-

cans have made clear that they

have no intention of sheathing

their most potent weapon

against Mr. Clinton. They have

backed their speaker, Newt Gingr-

ich, back in line whenever he

has seemed on the verge of sug-

gesting a way to separate the

budget debate from the autho-

rization to borrow more money.

Mr. Clinton, after weighing

the politics of it all, sounds like

a man who thinks that Congress

— rather than the White House

— will end up taking the rap for

sealing financial markets into

chaos if the United States flirts

with failing to pay investors. He

said as much on Wednesday.

"For all their loose talk," Mr.

Clinton said he would not let

that risk force him to sign a

budget he hates.

"If they send me a budget that says simply,

'You take our cuts or we'll let

the country go into default,' I

will veto it," he concluded.

The problem is that it does

not take an actual default to

shake the markets. A credible

threat of it can send interest

rates up, especially if foreign

investors are so spooked that

they are tempted to invest their

cash elsewhere — say, in

Deutsche marks.

The fear is that if this goes

on, the government might be

faced with paying an Ameri-

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SPORTS

How Far Between Amateur and Pro?

A Hong Kong Rider Seeks Answer in China Tour

By Samuel Abt
International Herald Tribune

HONG KONG — Man Wai-chung, the 19-year-old junior bicycling champion of Hong Kong, shook his head slowly sideways in the universal word for no when he was asked if he ever hoped to become a professional. Asked why not, he spread his hands far apart.

"Too great a distance between him and the professionals," explained Charles Chow, the technical adviser to the seven-man amateur Hong Kong team in the first Tour of China.

Man, who insisted that he spoke little English, nodded in agreement, saying something softly to Chow. "He just hopes to become one of the best amateurs," Chow translated. "He already is in Hong Kong," he added.

Bicycle racing is a popular sport in the crown colony, Chow said, with about a dozen amateur clubs competing. The Hong Kong Cycling Association reports it has 200 riders and 30 to 35 officials.

The season lasts from October to May, avoiding the summer heat and typhoons. Because the roads are so jammed with cars, races usually start at 6:30 A.M. on Sundays and end four hours later. Man has won more than his fair share of those races, Chow said.

Then, riding in the short prologue of the race Thursday, Man showed that for this day at least the distance between him and the professionals was not that great at all. While he placed 96th in the 110-man field, he was the second fastest on the Hong Kong team and finished a creditable 47 seconds behind the winner.

He was Steve Hegg, an American with the USPro team, who was clocked in 5 minutes, 2 seconds over the 4.1-kilometer (2.5-mile) course in the Shatin district of Hong Kong. Second, in 5:03, was Daniele Nardello, an Italian with Mapet, and third, in 5:05, was Norm Alvis, an American with Saunum.

Hegg described the course as "ideal, rider friendly" because "it wasn't technical, it was easy to learn, you didn't have to remember where that pothole was." The weather was balmy under an overcast sky that began to sprinkle toward the end.

A small but lively bunch of spectators, many of them in the jerseys of European professional racing teams, turned out for the start of the race, which is being sponsored by Kent cigarettes. Decorum was perfect except when a middle-aged man on a

clunker of a bicycle gaily rode up the road, waving to one and all, as the last entrants were bearing down on him from the other direction. When there was no crash, the incident passed as just one of those things.

Man was a popular figure, signing autographs and answering fans' questions, as he waited for his turn to start.

"A nice boy and a good rider, maybe second or third best in Hong Kong," said Ernest Law, the head of the medical control, or doping test, for the International Cycling Union at this race. Law, also an official of the Hong Kong Cycling Association, patted Man on the back as he moved to the starting ramp.

His day will come, Chow said earlier as Man ducked his boyish face in embarrassment at the prediction. "He's a long-distance rider and he's too young to stay fast for the long duration," Chow added.

Man said that his main goal in the Tour of China was to make it to the finish in Beijing, a time trial Nov. 5, the day after the stage to the Great Wall.

But if Man does not make it that far in the 500-kilometer (310-mile), six-stage race, he said he still expected many benefits.

"I want to learn how professionals ride, when to attack, how to chase, when to change gears." So much to learn in the next 10 days, he agreed. "He's very willing," Chow said. "and he's been in big races before."

In fact, he returned a few weeks ago from the world championships in Colombia, where he lasted about halfway through the amateur road race. Not many riders got that distance in the thin air and testing conditions in Colombia and even fewer were just 19 years old.

He has also raced in the United States and expects to make a European tour, four to six weeks long, next spring with this Ngan Hin club team.

For training, Man goes out daily in the New Territories, where the prologue was staged, and rides about 100 kilometers. The



Man Wai-chung at the prologue to the Tour of China.

rest of his time is spent on a motorcycle, delivering express mail for a local company.

He has been racing since he was 13 or 14 years old, he said. What drew him to the sport, he continued, was noticing a bicycle race go by and seeing how glorious the riders looked in their multicolored jerseys and how strong they all seemed.

That was exactly what attracted Greg LeMond to the sport when he watched his first bicycle race go by at about the same age, Man was told. He knew who LeMond was and he knew that he won the Tour de France three times.

His boyish face broke into a big smile and this time Man shook his head slowly up and down in the universal word for yes.

A Tennis Legend, Bobby Riggs, Dies

By Robin Finn
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The irrepressible chauvinist, Bobby Riggs, 77, a former Wimbledon champion who in 1973 reached a dual zenith of tennis fame and infamy as the 55-year-old braggart who was thumped by Billie Jean King in their landmark Battle of the Sexes bout, died Wednesday night in Leucadia, California, a suburb of San Diego.

Riggs had battled prostate cancer for the past decade and rallied after a 1989 operation, but he had been in failing health for several months.

For half a century, Riggs made, and routinely manipulated, tennis into a unique career that never kept him far from the spotlight.

According to King, who became a good friend of the brash impresario who loved to typecast himself as the world's greatest chauvinist, their ballyhooed 1973 battle "helped put women's tennis on the map and lifted all of tennis to a whole new level of acceptance."

Riggs first put himself on the tennis map in 1939 as a 21-year-old American upstart making his Wimbledon debut, Unsung despite being a French Open finalist the month before.

He nearly caused a scandal among the London bookmakers when he hit a trifecta of sorts on the lawns of the staid All Eng-

land Club: He defeated Elwood Cooke in a five-set all-American singles final, teamed with Cooke to win the men's doubles and partnered the celebrated Alice Marble to capture the mixed doubles crown in the last Wimbledon played before the event was interrupted by World War II from 1940-45.

After his Wimbledon sweep, he went home and conquered 19-year-old Welby Van Horn in straight sets to win the U.S. National Championships at Forest Hills.

Riggs had battled prostate cancer for the past decade and rallied after a 1989 operation, but he had been in failing health for several months.

For half a century, Riggs made, and routinely manipulated, tennis into a unique career that never kept him far from the spotlight.

The women's liberation movement was growing and it was embarrassing a 55-year-old man beating one of their star players," Riggs said.

King said: "People need to understand that he was the No. 1 player in the world at one time, and not just a great hustler."

Riggs was sincerely stunned when King beat him, 6-4, 6-3.

"I underestimated Billie Jean and overestimated myself," he said. "But I think it helped give women's tennis credibility."

At King Trial, Passion Awakes Snoozing Jury

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Acrimony is a lot more interesting than invoices and voucher numbers, at least for the jurors in Don King's insurance fraud trial.

Jurors who have yawned and hung their heads during lengthy testimony about the intricacies of the insurance business sprang to attention Wednesday when a tape was played of an accountant cursing King.

King responded sarcastically: "Is this my dear friend?"

An angry Maffia slowly repeated his curse and said in a low voice: "Who do you think this is?"

Trying to soften the effect of the taped conversation, Assistant U.S. Attorney G. Cadephe questioned Maffia about why he was so upset at King that he made the telephone call. Maffia told Gadephe it was not because King had made him resign.

"Is it accurate to say you were upset with Mr. King because of a highly personal manner between the two of you?" Gadephe asked under the terms of an agreement between lawyers and the judge that restricted what could be said on the subject.

"I was very angry," Maffia responded, leaving it to the jury to guess why.

SCOREBOARD

HOCKEY

NHL Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Philadelphia	6	1	1	13	21	12
Florida	6	1	0	12	21	27
New Jersey	6	2	0	12	27	15
N.Y. Islanders	5	3	0	10	29	23
Boston	4	4	0	9	20	23
Tampa Bay	2	3	2	6	19	22
N.Y. Islanders	1	5	1	3	14	27

Northeast Divisions

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Hartford	4	2	1	9	19	18
Orlando	4	3	0	9	21	22
Boston	2	2	2	6	20	23
Buffalo	3	5	0	6	29	23
Montreal	3	5	0	6	21	30
Pittsburgh	2	6	0	6	21	27

WESTERN CONFERENCE

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Chicago	5	1	1	11	26	25
Detroit	4	3	2	10	24	23
St. Louis	4	3	1	10	24	35
Dallas	3	4	1	9	24	27
Toronto	3	4	0	8	25	28

Pacific Division

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Colorado	5	1	1	11	26	25
Los Angeles	4	2	1	11	24	30
Vancouver	3	3	2	8	24	35
Edmonton	2	5	1	5	16	34
Calgary	2	6	0	4	27	27
Ottawa	0	5	3	3	22	34

Wednesday's Results

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Vancouver	5	1	1	12	24	24
New Jersey	1	1	0	2	8	8
First Period: V-Linden 5 (Okstek, Ridley) (pp). N.J.-McLean 5 (Zalewski, Damron) (pp). N.Y.-Guerin 1 (Thorne), 4, V-Ridley 2 (Riley, Lederer). Second: V-Ridley 3 (Okstek). Shoots on goal: V-10:12-28, N.J.-10:7-22, Linden 5 (Okstek). N.Y.-Brodsky, 2 (Linden, Ridley). Third Period: V-Ridley 3 (Okstek). Shoots on goal: V-10:12-28, N.J.-10:7-22, Linden 5 (Okstek). N.Y.-Brodsky, 2 (Linden, Ridley). Total: V-30:12-50, N.J.-20:10-30.						
First Period: S.L-Norton 1 (Conner, Howerich), 2, S.L-Howerich 1 (Hull, Conner), 3, S.L.-Pronger 2 (Howerich, Howerich) (pp). Second: Norton 4 (Shanahan, Walker), 1, S.H.-Kohr 1 (Sonnenberg). Third Period: S.L-Hull 7 (Howerich). Shoots on goal: S.L-14:7-30.						

Wednesday's Results

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Atlanta	5	1	1	13	22	18

OBSERVER

Hired Guns and Gurus

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — Hired guns are suddenly everywhere. What's worse, they are now heroic, like Paladin, whose card said, "Hired Gun Will Travel."

Paladin, as played by Richard Boone back in television's Bronze Age, was the pistoleer as nice guy. To take him seriously you had to be gallant enough to believe frontier America was roamed by dead shots who killed only to elevate the moral tone of the Old West.

Though he was good TV fun on the surface, Paladin deep down was an implausible stiff. A genuine hired gun — Jack Palance in "Shane," for instance — would probably have killed Paladin as a disgrace to the profession.

In John Huston's film "Prizzi's Honor," a mob hit man balks at killing his wife until his father explains, "It's just business, Charlie."

Doing it for the money is as American as a hit man. Suggesting that there ought to be a more virtuous reason for doing it is offensive to our masculine culture. Why? Because it reveals a mushy, soft-nosed attitude toward the vital importance of getting the job done.

□

So we come to three real-life hired guns who typify this growing and increasingly honored profession: the baseball pitcher David Cone, the football place-kicker Eddie Murray, and President Clinton's latest political strategist, Dick Morris.

Cone and Murray both travel from town to town at the summons of sports executives who need a big job done fast. Cone is usually brought in near the end of the baseball season to help

Just business, Charlie.

New York Times Service

pitch some contending team to a championship.

This year it was the Yankees that hired him when their penultimate prospects looked good. Until then he had been parked with an unsuccessful Kansas City team waiting for the call from a contender. Doubtless he will end the 1996 season trying to win the big one for yet another team willing to pay.

Murray is playing for the Washington Redskins this year, though he helped Philadelphia beat them last year by kicking a winning field goal. He has also played for Dallas, Kansas City and Detroit. Last week he helped Washington beat Detroit with a last-second field goal.

It's just business, Charlie.

In an interview with David Sell of The Washington Post, Murray spoke of living alone in a hotel all season, suggesting the loneliness of the hired gun's life with a terseness worthy of Hemingway:

"Sometimes living in a hotel is easier. The remote is mine. I can do anything I want. If I want to sit around and watch TV in the nude, I can do it."

Well, many professional athletes ride that big-money range nowadays.

Dick Morris, President Clinton's latest adviser on how to get re-elected, is this season's emblematic political guruslinger. He is widely credited or blamed — take your choice — for the continuing meltdown of Clinton's political identity. Is the earth round or flat? Morris can teach it either way.

He is no Paladin do-gooder, but the genuine unsentimental Jack-Palance-certified article. In his time he has worked to defeat Clinton and he has worked to elect Clinton. Principle has nothing to do with it. He is a workman.

Just business, Charlie.

New York Times Service

Freedom's Cost: Bad Times for Russian Writers

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — History dropped Alexander Terekhov somewhere between two epochs.

Born in the twilight of the Soviet era, he aspired to be a writer and dreamed of being published in the thick literary journals, such as Novy Mir and Znamya, whose densely typeset pages have carried novels and poetry that stirred the conscience of Russians for generations.

Instead, Terekhov is sitting at a barren desk in the office of a tawdry tabloid newspaper, Top Secret, where he writes brash, colloquial satire. A young and established author, Terekhov works at yellow journalism to make a living and laments that he can hardly understand what has happened to literature in post-Soviet Russia.

"I try to do this, but no one needs it. I will not succeed. No one succeeds. There has been a complete collapse. Literature is no longer of interest in the eyes of the people."

"If today's writer hasn't completely lost the traditional role, he has lost it largely," said Tatyana Bek, a poet, critic and editor at the journal Voprosy Literatury.

Free from the shackles of state control and ideology, Russians can now enjoy racy television soap operas, pulp detective thrillers and sensation-filled tabloid newspapers — just a few of the entertainments that compete with literature for attention.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the near collapse of the literary "thick journals" that have historically played a central role in Russian literature. In a few short years they have slid from towering peaks — selling millions of copies every month — to circulation in the thousands. Their financial situation today is so precarious that if it were not for help from American financier George Soros, most would have closed.

Since the early 19th century, these monthly periodicals, crammed with prose, poetry, literary criticism and commentary, have been an indispensable part of Russia's cultural life. Printed on newsprint, in small type, the thick journals could accommodate an entire novel and have room to spare.

They were the essential showcase for the career of any new writer. It was in the office of the most prestigious of the journals, Novy Mir, that a story arrived in November 1961 from an unknown

socialism and the party line. Mediocre writers who hewed to this method were rewarded with massive print runs of their books and stories, better apartments, travel privileges and subsidies. Those who did not were simply not published. The end of Communist rule has brought Russian writers their greatest moment of freedom in more than seven decades, but they nonetheless lack a sense of direction.

"We knew a Russian writer was supposed to influence the life of society," said Terekhov, whose latest novel is about a provincial town's struggle to find a new identity in post-Soviet Russia. "I try to do this, but no one needs it. I will not succeed. No one succeeds. There has been a complete collapse. Literature is no longer of interest in the eyes of the people."

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David Hoffman/The Washington Post

Writer Alexander Terekhov: "I think there are no readers."

writer in the provincial town of Ryazan, Alexander Solzhenitsyn. His story, "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," was first published in Novy Mir — and became a sensation because of its frank description of life in a Soviet labor camp.

When perestroika reforms began to open a hidden treasure of once forbidden works, the thick journals plummeted. According to Ivanova, Znamya's circulation was 1 million in 1990, but is just 34,000 today. Novy Mir, which sold more than 2.6 million copies at the height of the perestroika years, now has a circulation of 31,600. "Not a single journal can sell enough copies to cover its costs," said Lazar Lasarev, editor in chief of Voprosy

Literatury. "We have to subsidize every issue. Our permanent readers are not those Russians legendary for squandering their money on furs coats. We're talking about the intelligentsia, people without a lot of money. If we raise the price, we lose them." Virtually all the major literary journals now depend for survival on the Open Society Institute, a foundation backed by Soros. At an annual cost of about \$3 million, the foundation purchases slightly less than half the monthly print run of each journal and distributes the copies to libraries throughout Russia at no charge.

The literary journals have been overshadowed by commercial television. After decades of dry state broadcasts, Russians are still getting used to the video explosion. "You not only get news, but a share of visual sensations that we were deprived of," said Ivanova. "This pushed out the value of mere words." For many writers and critics, there is a certain profound irony in their predicament. Some of those in the intelligentsia were too frightened to fight the system, as did Solzhenitsyn, but still hoped someday to shed the yoke of totalitarianism. Now that they have their freedom, it seems to be mocking them with crass commercialism.

"I would call it the cruel cost of freedom," said magazine editor Bek. "Those who remain literature can no longer afford to live off their literary work," she said. "We have to get mobilized. I have three jobs. At the journal, at a publishing house and teaching. Others work as gypsy cab drivers. Everyone hustles and manages. I feel sorry for the older ones — they can't adapt and can't take three jobs. They can't write a best seller."

"There is great literary prose, and there is junk," said Terekhov. "It's only junk that you can earn money from. You can write four junk novels a year. But it's more profitable to be a guard at a bank. No one can earn a living off literature. A lot of writers are writing cheap novels, detective stories. So, you write a book where a man's head is cut off on the second page and the woman takes her underwear off on Page 5. You are forced to."

WEATHER

Europe

Forecast for Saturday through Monday, as provided by Accu-Weather.



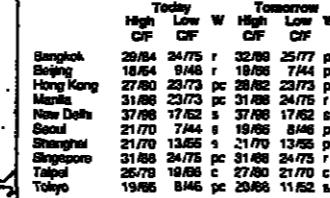
North America

Europe

Asia

Asia

Forecast for Saturday through Monday, as provided by Accu-Weather.

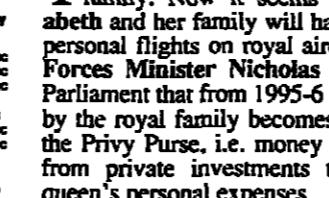


Latin America

Europe

Latin America

Forecast for Saturday through Monday, as provided by Accu-Weather.

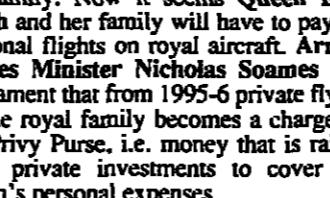


Middle East

Africa

Middle East

Forecast for Saturday through Monday, as provided by Accu-Weather.



Africa

PEOPLE

and Geri L. Smith of Business Week.

Maya Flick, 37, who won £14 million (\$14 million) in a divorce settlement from Friedrich Flick of the Mercedes-Benz dynasty, can ask for even more money, a British appeals court has ruled. "You have to put this figure in context. A sum of £9 million seems a lot and to appeal against it looks greedy. But it is not a lot when you live the lifestyle of the super-rich," Maya Flick told The Times.

Franois Mitterrand, the former French president, who has prostate cancer, celebrated his 79th birthday Thursday.



Fidel Castro in New York.
The Associated Press

José Rubén Zamora Marroquín, president and general editor of Siglo Veintiuno of Guatemala, has won the 1995 Maria Moors Cabot Prize for advancing press freedom and inter-American understanding. The three other winners are: Douglas Farah of The Washington Post, Canute W. James of the Financial Times of London, and Geri L. Smith of Business Week.

holics." Castro also said that he is fascinated by General Colin Powell, so much so that he has ordered a platoon of 40 translators to transcribe the general's autobiography into Spanish for himself.

Your stomach's growling.

Mother Nature's calling.

Plenty of time to make, say,

ten calls.

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